THE STUDENT CULTURE OF A NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE EXTRACURRICULUM

By

COLIN JOHN BALMER

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM, METHODOLOGY, AND THEORY

The research reported here had as its basic purpose
the explication of the student culture of a high school in
order to gain an understanding of the school's extra-
curricular program.

The basic research problem was thus quite broad, and
to implement it required that the researcher break this
problem into several more specific ones. The student
culture will refer to the particular patterning of the
activities of the students in space and time and in relation
to the other elements, whether living or non-living, that
concurrently occupy the same environment which, in this
case, is the school.

Analysis of Activity

The focus of this definition of culture is the
activities of the students. Within a school there are
three broad divisions of the personnel: the pupils, the
professional members of the faculty and those other adults
termed 'staff' and whose members include kitchen workers,
secretaries, and custodians. The researcher set out to
understand the activities of the students in relation to
each of these two groups of adults, as well as when they
were interacting among themselves.

In order to gain such an understanding, one must note who is behaving, and whether this behavior consists of initiations to others or reactions to some other person or persons. In such social analysis, one is less concerned with the psychological characteristics of the interacting persons than with their social characteristics,* in terms of status and position. Linton's description of a status as "a position in a particular pattern" and as "a collection of rights and duties" has been used as the framework within which the present research has been developed. (1936:113) Thus the first question asked of the activities became:

    1. What are the statuses found within the school?
        What are the sociological characteristics cf the
        occupants of each, and what is the nature of the
        relationship among them?

The study of activity also leads us to note whether the same persons interact repeatedly. If they do, what are the conditions in space and time that bring them together? Do these conditions bring other persons occupying similar positions together? However, it is to be expected that other patterns of interaction will also occur. For example, it is frequently the case that school assemblies are controlled by an ordinary teacher. On some occasions he is replaced by the principal. We need to enquire why such changes occur. Hence the next question is:

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*However, the differing personalities of the actors does have an effect upon the manner in which they execute the roles accompanying the positions that they fill. As this study progressed, the importance of this factor became apparent, but unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain the relevant data to enable a discussion of the question.

2. What is the relationship between the antecedent conditions and the nature of the interaction?

Closely related to the previous question is the next: when does interaction occur? This third question seeks the temporal significances often associated with interaction, as when a family gathers for Thanksgiving or the graduating class disperses in June. Were there variations between activities that occurred during the day, and those of the evening? Were there differences associated with the various seasons? Hence the third question asks:

3. What is the relation between the activity and temporal variation, especially diurnal and seasonal changes?

Activity occurs in different settings which are resistant to change. Each setting has distinctive features. (Barker and Gump 1964:19) Thus the auditorium with its fixed seats offers a different environment in which to act than the gymnasium with its tiered stands overlooking a large, bare floor, even though both will seat about the same number of people. Hence the fourth question draws our attention to this factor:

4. What is the relation between the pattern of activity and the behavior setting in which it occurs?

Each of these four fundamental sets of questions was investigated in respect of the regular daily activities of the students. These activities included the arrival at school of the pupils, their activities during the various segments of the school day, their dispersal from the school of an afternoon, and the school related events which were

held at night. As will be shown in the following chapters,
these activities fall into four broad groups: regular
lessons, homeroom periods, extracurricular activities, and
spectator events. The differences among these types of
events necessitated that one ask a fifth question of the
analysis of activity. This question was:

> 5. What is the relation between the pattern of
>   activity observed in one setting, and that
>   observed in another type of setting?

This question was designed to direct attention to the
similarities and dissimilarities between, for example, the
regular classroom lesson and the extracurricular activity.
In conjunction with the other questions, this question also
drew attention to the coordinating and regulating mechanisms
of the school.

Although people walk here, rather than there because
of the location of tables and doorways, or talk together
because they are assigned to the same lesson by a computer-
plotted timetable and so on, we must also heed why they
act as they do. The environment may preclude certain patterns
of interaction, but a wide variety of alternatives are
usually still available. Why, therefore, do the actors
choose to behave in this particular way, rather than in some
other way which would have been equally adaptive to the
situation? To answer this question we must try to understand
the situation from the actor's point of view. Therefore,
the final question to be asked of events becomes:

> 6. How do the actors perceive their world and what
>   effects does this perception have on their
>   behavior?

These six questions form the focus of the study. It is their answers which we shall seek. The remainder of the present chapter will be devoted to three tasks: outlining the methodology of data collection and data analysis, outlining the theoretical framework within which the interpretation of the data will be made, and reviewing some of the more pertinent literature related to this study.

The Techniques of Data Analysis and Collection

It is one of the accepted tenets of social theory that the activity of persons is orderly, for, as Radcliffe-Brown wrote

> . . . the concrete reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned in observation, description, comparison and classification, is not any sort of entity but a process, the process of social life. . . . The process itself consists of an immense multitude of actions and interactions of human beings, acting as individuals or in combinations or in groups. Amidst the diversity of the particular events there are discoverable regularities, so that it is possible to give statements or descriptions of certain general features of the social life of a selected region. (1952:4)

Participant Observation

The data on social life may be obtained by a variety of means; that used in this research was that of participant observation.

A succinct statement of the techniques and requirements of participant observation has been provided by Malinowski. (1967:98-114) He stresses the advantage to be gained by participating in events as they are occurring, for then the

actors spontaneously talk about the event. This provides
the observer with a knowledge of it from the viewpoint of
his subjects. He also is fully aware of its context, both
in space and time. The observation of a multiplicity of
events provides the opportunities to note the recurring
features and the range of variations which occur in these
events, and the accompanying interactions.

The field worker must be fully cognizant with the
theories that are relevant to the events he is observing and
to his reasons for making such observations. This knowledge
alerts him to opportunities to actively seek information
relevant to these theories and his purposes. Furthermore,
if he critically appraises the theories, and develops alter-
natives to them, he can be alert for material which will be
pertinent to these alternatives as well as to the main
theory itself.

Malinowski, however, cautions the researcher interested
in the social life of people against seeking information
about only one facet of culture. To gain a complete under-
standing of any aspect of culture, it is necessary to
understand the total cultural pattern from which it derives
its meaning.

Participant observation, therefore, enables one to
observe culture as a system, operating in a spatial and
temporal milieu. It requires continuous analytical activity
on the part of the observer to ensure that he understands

the event in its context. This minimizes the possibility of
his misinterpreting the data because of any predilection
on the part of the observer.

Data Analysis

Once the data have been obtained, it must be interpreted.
Since the data have the potential to reflect the dynamic
nature of social life, the need is for a technique which
will preserve this sense of action. Such a technique was
devised by Kimball and termed 'event analysis.' (Kimball
and Pearsall 1955:58-63) A further advantage of event analy-
sis is that it may be used for the analysis of social systems
of any size.

Those employing it

> . . . have utilized time and space aspects and examined
> the network of relations within a context of events.
> The focus of analysis has been upon "systems" and their
> interrelationships and conditions within which they
> operate. In sum, they have adhered closely to the
> method of natural history. This approach . . . is
> dedicated to the laborious process of constructing
> increasingly adequate conceptual representations of
> the dynamics of sociocultural systems.
> (Kimball 1962-3:239-240)

Thus its use requires that we determine the sociological
characteristics of the actors, and identify the initiator
and the responder during the event. The nature and sequence
of the events and their setting are additional features
which must be heeded. If these conditions are complied with,
it is possible to delineate the social system.

Thus it can be realized that the methods of participant observation and of event analysis blend into each other and provide the researcher with a powerful methodology with which to study social life.

Theoretical Framework

Behavior Settings

Basic to the researcher's approach has been the concept that activity occurs within a context, and that this context has two major components. One of them is the physical space in which the event occurs: classroom, corridor, gymnasium, and schoolyard are but some of the common areas found within a school. Even these broad types vary within themselves, for the science room will offer a different arrangement of space than the art room or the English room. Barker and Gump use the term 'behavior setting' to describe the locus of activity. (1964:19-23) A setting is a system which remains intact and operates at a stable, functional level under widely varying conditions. Such a system includes more than the physical features of walls, desks, and lockers. It also includes such regulatory features of the school as the daily timetable, the bells to signal the end of lesson periods, school rules, and so on. A setting will accommodate, under optimum conditions, only a limited number of elements within its boundaries. Therefore, the behavior of the actors is influenced by the setting. A

merely objective description of a setting tells us little.
It gains its meaning when it is part of the description of
the event which it affects.

The Cultural Context of Behavior

The second component of the activity context is culture.
Culture is commonly thought of as being "the sum of man's
behavior," which it is. This does not deny the proposition
that any specific act of behavior takes its meaning from
the encompassing cultural system. To illustrate the point
one may consider the role of school football in two
differing cultures. In the United States, football is a
means of creating public interest in the school, with the
subsequent hope that public financial support will be
facilitated. In Australia, on the other hand, interschool
football is played, even by the private schools, before at
most a handful of spectators with the assumption being that
the two major reasons for the contest are exercise and
sportsmanship.

Such a view of culture draws upon the method of event
analysis which involves "the tracing of the interconnections
of behavior in time and space and in relation to the
conditions of the situation." (Arensberg and Kimball 1965:
224) From such an analysis, the major components of the
cultural system are made manifest. From their researches,
Firth (1952:41-43) and Kimball and Pearsall (1954:xiii-
xxiii) both derive the same three components: the system

of structural relations that link persons within the system, the elements of social control such as laws, rules, customs and mores, and the valuational system which results in the norms that govern the standards of behavior.

Social Structure and Social Organization

The most influential exponent of the concept of social structure has been Radcliffe-Brown who considered it to refer to an enduring network of social relations among persons. These structural relations are subject to normative sanctions since they are functional for the encompassing social system. Social structure could be discovered only by analyzing events, for it possesses no concrete existence and is merely the product of inference. (1958:167)

Firth, however, criticized the conventional view of social structure as being too broad in scope. (1964:59-87) Consequently, he restricted his use of the concept to the theoretical and ideal relations that are supposed to exist among the members of a group. In practice, Firth believed, these ideal patterns of interaction became modified by the force of circumstance. Therefore, when describing the social relations that he found in everyday events, he used the term 'social organization.' (1964:60-63) Although Firth cites several factors which result in the accommodation of the social structure to the situation only two were found to be relevant in this study. These were status involvement, which refers to the fact that the status of

the actors provides them with a degree of immunity should
they decide to modify the rules in their own intersts,
(1964:75-80) and economy of effort, which simply means that
people do what is easiest, as when pedestrians jaywalk.
(1964:80-82)

Ceremony and Ritual and the Analysis of Structure and Organization

As Firth indicates, structure and organization both
have a place within any study of the social system. To the
researcher interested in the structure of the group, it
would appear that the analysis of ceremonies, and their
accompanying ritual, would be the best source of data. The
reasons for this lie in the nature of the two sets of
activity. Ceremonies have been defined as "rules of
behavior that govern the members of an institution on special
occasions, usually when they come together and celebrate
some recurring event important for the functioning of the
institution." Ritual, on the other hand referes to "a
prescribed set of words and acts, used practically without
variation. . . ." Rituals are often parts of ceremonies,
but may also be incorporated into other events. (Rose
1965:176-178)

Ritual was given close attention by both van Gennep
(1964) and Radcliffe-Brown (1952). Both perceived that
ritual helped restore equilibrium to a group after a period
of crisis. In these rites, the important values of the
group were given expression. Van Gennep noted that

ceremonies accompanied crises in the lives of people: that
they occurred at times such as birth, puberty, or death. His
basic theory is that the ceremony, with its expressive ritual,
is held to aid in the transition of the person from one
stage of life to another. He stressed that these events
occurred when the society defined the point of transition,
rather than when the transition actually occurred. For such
ceremonies he coined the term by which they are still known:
Rites of Passage. (Kimball 1964:vii)

A later development in the theory of ceremony was made
by Chapple and Coon who noted that ceremonies served to unify
the group (as distinct from its individual members) and to
restore morale after crises. (1942:485-488) They gave to
such ceremonies the name Rites of Intensification. These
rites differ from Rites of Passage in two important ways.
Firstly, the personnel of Rites of Intensification do not
change, whereas Rites of Passage mark the transition of the
person from one group to the next, as when the initiate
leaves the group of children and enters the group of workers.
Secondly, Rites of Intensification are held at times when the
members of the group need to change the rate and rhythm of
their established patterns of interacting. In primitive
and agrarian societies, especially, such changes in the tempo
of daily life occur with the changing seasons, as in the fall
when the harvest is completed and the months of winter
slackness are near.

The important point for the present discussion is that
since the ceremonies occur on special and important occasions,

we may expect that there will be conscious attempts by the organizers to conform to the ideal. In consequence one may expect that jealousies and rivalries which impede the relationships in day to day affairs will be concealed during the ceremonies themselves, regardless of the controversies that may have occurred during the rehearsals for them. Hence the analysis of ritual may be expected to reveal the social structure of the group. This is so because, by its very nature, ritual is conservative. It emphasises the traditionally valued relationships, the origin of which are often given expression in ceremonies.

On the other hand, the analysis of day to day events that involve decision making will be more likely to yield the organizational features of the system under review. To the extent that the youth of a society do not share the traditional values, then the social organization may reflect their preferred pattern of interacting.

Thus by analyzing the ceremonial events in terms of the values and social structure that they reveal, and contrasting these findings with a similar analysis of nonceremonial, everyday activities, it is to be anticipated that we shall gain greater insights into the values held by the participants.

Interaction Theory

Regardless of whether we are interested in the structure or the organization of social relations, our interest remains focused on the event itself. This is comprised of

the interaction of persons. For a sociological theory of
interaction we have drawn primarily upon the work of Chapple
and Coon. (1942) Interaction occurs among people when one
of them initiates behavior towards the others, and they in
their turn respond. Its fundamental feature is that activity
is sequential. (1942:40-41) When two people interact, with
one initiating to the other, who then responds, the event is
termed a 'pair event.' Sociologically, the participants in
a pair event may be of equal status, although they need not
be.

When more than two people interact, the event is termed
a 'set event.' In the set event one actor initiates to the
remainder. He may initiate to them directly, as when a
teacher requests the entire group to open their textbooks at
a particular page. Alternatively, he may initiate to them
via intermediaries, as when the principal requests the
teachers to make an announcement in their classrooms. In
set events the initiation is always in one direction: from
the highest status toward the lowest. Those whose status is
lower then that of the initiator merely react to him. Where
a member of the lower status group wishes to initiate action
to the member of the higher status group, the set event
ceases, according to Chapple and Coon, and a pair event
commences. (1942:283) Such a situation occurs in the class-
room when a pupil initiates towards a teacher, either on his
own behalf, or on behalf of the group when he is serving as
their delegate.

Set events incorporate cultural norms which govern interaction. These norms include, for example, those which regulate the customary order of interaction, and the nuances of timing: when to speak, when to be silent, when to broach the purpose of the interaction, and so on. Hence set events give the system its basic form.

When the set events become stable, that is when the patterns of interaction within them become learned and part of the habitual behavior of the members, it is possible for institutions to develop. An institution consists of the totality of persons whose rate of interaction within sets has attained a state of equilibrium. The largest set within the institution encompasses all other sets also within the institution. (1942:287)

Should there be more than one institution, or should there be subsystems within an institution, the combination of these leads to the formation of an association, which is, therefore, "an organization of people who are in tangent relations to one another; it does not [include] the people who are at the point of tangency." (1942:420) When the persons who have tangential relations fail to develop habitual set relationships, they form not associations, but cliques: friendship groups with customary modes of interacting and lacking hierarchical patterns of interaction. (Burnett 1964:14-15)

Tangency

The concept developed by Chapple and Coon to link set events into institutions, and institutions into associations,

is that of tangency. (1942:337-8) Tangency refers to the fact that the individuals so associated do interact; it does not refer to their status. Tangency may occur in two situations. Two individuals in two different institutions are related to each other through a person who is a member of both institutions. Different people in the same institution become related because both terminate their interactions to the same person. An illustration of the former is where a member of a school faculty is also a member of a particular club. The other members of the faculty become tangentially related to the other members of the club in consequence. An example of the latter is seen in the group of students who enroll for a university course: through their terminating in pair and set events to the same instructor, they form tangential relationships.

From this discussion it becomes clear that the task of the researcher was to observe both ceremonial and decision making events, with the objective of identifying the basic social relations that were invoked by the interacting persons. In so doing, he sought to determine whether these relations were classifiable as clique, pair or set events. These, in turn, led to an understanding of the institutional and associational structure of the student group. By noting those events which disrupted the prevailing patterns of relations, it was possible to determine the valuational system of the students. In this manner it became possible to delineate some of the features of the student culture of the school.

Review of the Literature

The literature that has relevance on this research is both voluminous and meager. It is voluminous in that much has been written about the Negro American and much has also been written about the extracurriculum of secondary schools. These are the two foci of this research. Yet neither source has a great deal that is directly relevant for the study.

Negro American World View

The literature upon the Negro American suffers from two major limitations from the perspective of the present research. Firstly, much of that which deals with the Negro American who lives in rural areas is old, with a few major studies to reflect the social changes that have followed in the wake of the 1954 decision by the Supreme Court which marks the beginning of desegregation and established the legal requirements of civil equality for the Negro American. Secondly, the majority of that literature barely touches upon the student age group.

However, it is obvious that a field worker needs some introduction to the life style of his subjects. To gain this some of the novels and autobiographies by Negro writers were read. Although there are limitations in such an approach, there are some advantages as well. Among the limitations, the fact that the writers are from different parts of America means that they probably have had experiences that were distinct for the region in which they lived. The

importance of regional differences has been indicated by
Arensberg and Kimball. (1965:97-116) To the extent that these
differences are reflected in the books reviewed, so the
differences among them will be magnified. On the other
hand, to the extent that the lot of the Negro has been similar
throughout the nation, so there will be similarities among
the books.

So far as the conditions experienced and written about
by the writers were also experienced by their contempories,
we gain insights into how all Negroes think. To the extent,
albeit limited, that the stories written by Negroes have
been read by Negroes, there is a sharing and a levelling of
the Negro heritage. The authors read (Baldwin 1953, 1964;
Brown 1965; Ellison 1947; Hughes 1952, 1958; Wright 1937)
are of the same generation as the teachers and parents of the
youths who are the subjects of this research. It is assumed
therefore that these novels and short stories will reflect
the way this teacher-parent generation think, and in terms
of which they react to their students and children. It is
the culture reflected in these sources that becomes part of
the cultural heritage of the present youth, who will, of
course adapt it to suit the world as they see it.

The writers under discussion, to even the casual
reader, have produced books and stories which deal with
similar themes, even though their topics and settings are
diverse. These common themes concern: religion, aggression,
women, parents, whites, and one's peers. As a result of their

dealing with common themes it is possible to synthesize
and give structure to the works of these Negro American
authors.

The Negro perceives the world as lacking in unity,
and as being exploitive and aggressive towards him. He
sees that its effects are immediate, rather than delayed.
He sees most people about him acting in these ways towards
him: his peers, the representatives of his churches, even
his parents, and, above all, the whites. Because of them
and their aggressiveness and exploitation of him, death
is always imminent: either suddenly as a result of violence,
or through illness for which malnutrition and the inability
to afford adequate medical care are the direct causes and
exploitation is the indirect cause. In a fatalistic manner,
he comes to regard death as inevitable, and almost as a
refuge from the direct and pressing problems of everyday
life.

Mother is similarly both part of the daily world and
yet separated from it. She is part of it in her own life.
Her children also regard her as part of it until they are
able to fend for themselves. Then to them she becomes set
apart from it, together with the home which she struggles
to maintain. This becomes evident when we see the prodigal
sons and daughters returning to her when the world at large
has become too much for them.

Since this is the way he perceives the world, he
reacts accordingly. However, being an American, he perceives

the world as a place in which to have fun, (Wolfenstein 1955; Henry 1965) and it is the pursuit of this which gives unity to his style of life. These ideas are schematically portrayed in Figure 1.

The High School Extracurriculum

Much of the material on the extracurriculum consists of manuals, such as that by Mock (1946), or of brief articles with catchy titles such as "Our Kids Didn't Join Clubs Either--Last Year." Where a more definite piece of research is reported, as in the investigation by Trump (1944) for the North Central Association, the principal method of data gathering has been the questionnaire.

One of the few attempts to interpret the activities of students in terms of their culture is that by Taba.(1955) The four studies reported were undertaken by means of questionnaires and interviews conducted after general discussions with both teachers and pupils had provided a focus for the investigation. All data for the studies were gathered from the pupils by the staffs of the schools concerned.

Of the four studies reported, two are of relevance for this study. The focus of one is revealed by its title: "Participation in School Life." (1965:86-118) It reports the results of surveys by seven schools of their student activity programs. From these surveys it was learned that those students most needing the experiences offered were those who were ineligible to join because of entry requirements. (1963:103) It was found that the activities which imposed
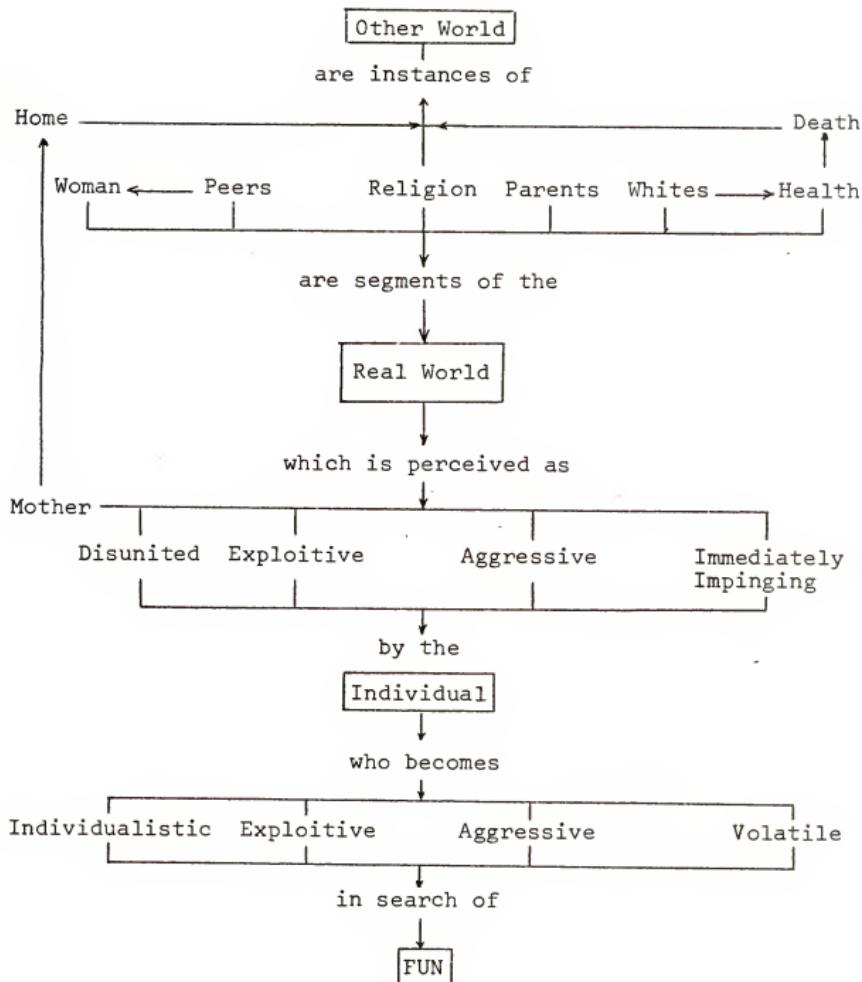
Figure 1. Schematic representation of the world view of the Negro American, and the implications of this world view for behavior.

such barriers excluded those of the lower socioeconomic
statuses. (1965:105) It was also found that there were
inconsistencies between the official aims of the activity
groups and the actual practices. (1965:111) As a result
the researchers were able to conclude that

> First, the school programs tended to reflect the
> pressures, biases, emphases, and prejudices of the
> surrounding environment, instead of consciously
> supplementing gaps in them, or correcting their
> flaws. (1965:115) It seemed, further, that
> policies controlling school life were dictated
> by the purposes of the academic program and the
> convenience of the academic staff . . . [and that]
> there was a tendency to channel leadership to a
> few adults and students, which made interaction
> too dependent on a few people, and its functioning
> both spurious and undemocratic. (1965:116)

Findings such as these caution the present researcher
to be alert for related conditions. However, it should be
noted that Taba in this study did not relate the student
culture to this material on the extracurriculum, although
she did do so in the other studies contained in the volume.

The other study that is relevant concerns Negro pupils.
(1965:33-60) In it, Taba had the pupils respond to open-
ended paragraph topics. From the responses, she was able
to determine the attitudes which students valued. Moderation
was the key to behavior that was liked, while excessive
behavior, whether it was shyness or obtrusiveness, was
disliked. She found a lack of any capacity to modify the
response to the situation, which was perceived in terms
of its superficial features. Furthermore, she found that the
evaluations given expression were derived from what their

parents and teachers taught them, rather than from
interactions with their peers or from the use of their own
judgment. (1965:48-51)

While some of these values are in accord with the
description already given of the Negro world view, one is
struck by this last point. Is the enculturation of these
Negro high school pupils by their teachers, parents and
other adults, as effective as this conclusion would warrant?
Our caution in accepting this statement is increased when
we recall that Taba had the school staffs collect for her
the raw data from the pupils. Were the pupils being
'careful' and providing answers that were 'safe' in case
the staff happened to read them? We do not know, but the
possibility does exist, and suggested to the researcher
the need to ensure that he disassociate himself from the
faculty as much as possible. It also indicates the need
to observe actual behavior, and not rely solely upon the
answers to written questions.

Congruence Between the Curriculum and the School Community

There are a small number of other studies somewhat
similar to that by Taba and which are relevant for the
present study. There are sociological studies of youths
or of schools. It is to a review of these that we now turn.

Among the earliest attempts to probe the culture of
the school, is the study of Middletown by the Lynds, who
made what Wissler, in his foreward to the volume, termed
"a pioneer attempt to deal with a sample American community

after the manner of social anthropology." (1929:vi) The
Lynds devoted a chapter to the topic "School 'Life'" and were
concerned with showing that the nature of the high school
had changed during the previous thirty years.

The change, which they documented by a content analysis
of the high school year books, amounted to an increased
emphasis upon athletics and extracurricular activities at
the expense of the more formal program. Further, there is
indication that this change resulted in the program of the
school being made more congruent with the world from which
the students came, and into which they would proceed at the
conclusion of their school days. For, while "education is
a faith, a religion to Middletown . . . [it] appears to be
desired frequently not for its specific content but as a
symbol. . . ." (1929:219) Citizens, in their addresses
to the students, stress as the enduring values such things
as "'habits of industry,' 'friendships formed,' the great
ideals of our nation. Almost never is the essential of
education defined in terms of the subjects taught in the
classroom." (1929:220) Little wonder then that the students
have presumably let lapse the "Turemethian Literary Society"
and replaced it by clandestine fraternities and sororities,
and the more permissible Hi-Y, Pep Clubs and a system of
student class officers. The clubs allied to curricular
courses such as the Science and Pickwick Clubs have intro-
duced "'pledges,' making their rituals conform roughly to
those of the more popular fraternities and sororities."

(1929:216) Thus we can appreciate why the Lynd's were able to state: "Curricular and social interests tend to conform." (1929:213)

In this setting, with its congruence with the world at large, and with at least a degree of internal congruency, one can imagine that the pupils would be eager and enthusiastic. We are told of the keen competition for positions as class officer. We are also given a glimpse of some of the attributes which confer status: for a boy the big thing was to be chosen for the basketball or football team. To be just a good student rated pretty low. Being good-looking, a good dancer, and your family owning a car all helped. For a girl, being a 'grind' will keep you out of the leading clubs for the boys must like you and take you to the dances. (1929:216-218)

Obtaining most of their data by means of participant observation, and supplementing it with questionnaires distributed among the school students and interviews, the Lynds have thus given hints that the school has developed its own subculture and that this culture provides a basis for the structuring of interpersonal relationships among the students. It also gives meaning, and differential importance to the activities that occur within the school. However these are only hints that perhaps can be perceived because we are looking for them. Unless we heed the actors of the drama themselves, we cannot be sure that this

interpretation is the correct one. We do not know, for example, that the extracurricular program is successful, or that it is engaged in by the majority of students. Nor have we been given a portrait of the culture of the school against which to compare specific aspects of the educational program. This was, of course, not the purpose of the Lynds. What they have done is suggested that there is a basis for further investigation.

School Tradition Revealed by Student Activities

Waller, while perhaps not being the first to make the suggestion, certainly seems to have been among the first to give explicit formulation to the view that the school has its own culture. (1932:103-119) He indicates that the school has its own rituals, mores, and myths; that its athletic programs and informal games resemble ritualistic warfare, that there are laws, and a rigid stratification of members into groups with differentiated prestige and power. Besides being an agent of cultural diffusion, Waller sees the school as also being a center of culture conflict:

> These conflicts are of two sorts. The first and most obvious is that which arises from the peculiar function of the school in the process of cultural diffusion. A conflict arises between teachers and students because teachers represent the culture of the wider group and students are impregnated with the culture of the local community. . . . A second and more universal conflict between students and teachers arises from the fact that teachers are adult and students are not, so that teachers are the bearers of the culture of the society of adults,

> and try to impose that culture upon students,
> whereas students represent the indigenous
> culture of the group of children. (1932:105)

Some of the differences between the two cultures are
delineated: a difference in their styles of thinking,
the interests dependent upon their different ages, the
persistence in children's games of former adult activities,
and so on.

To Waller, school tradition has three sources: the
outside society, the school itself, and that which is a
mixture of both. The first, being inherent in the society,
determines who shall teach, what they shall teach, and under
what conditions. The students, Waller believes, are the
carriers of the second. It is composed of rules imposed by
the faculty but which by being accepted have been incorpor-
ated into the way of life. It also encompasses customs
which have been adopted to differentiate the school from
others, and the folklore pertaining to previous teachers,
pupils, and places. These traditions form a pattern to which
the current activities of the present students tend to
conform. Therefore the activities of the school serve as
examples of the school culture. (1932:107-110)

He refers to such activities as the drama club, the
student newspaper, and the fraternities which have a set
form, provide their members with prestige and offer some
preparation for real life situations. In part they are
spontaneous. In other ways they are artificial and guided
by the faculty to serve as methods to channel the exuberance
of youth away from activities that are deemed undesirable

and as attempts to make regular school life more interesting.
To be effective, however, Waller stresses that activities
must have a spontaneous basis and be intrinsically interesting
to the participants. (1932:111-112)

Waller's treatment is always general. He has not
documented his thesis with specific examples taken from the
classroom situation, which the proposed study shall attempt
to do. Waller does offer a valuable piece of methodological
advice when he states that the most important locus of the
school culture is to be found in the unsupervised play
group. (1932:107) This however, would yield information
on youth culture, as distinct from student culture. We shall,
therefore, be concerned with observing the informal groups
within the school and their activities.

Negro Schools in the South

Charles Johnson, a Negro sociologist, conducted a
study in the South during the nineteen-thirties. He
selected counties that were representative of the South at
that time, and then selected a stratified sample of youths
attending schools within them. To these he administered
questionnaires. Intensive interviews were conducted with
twenty percent of the youths who completed questionnaires,
and with 916 of their families. (1941:xxv)

In a chapter devoted to "Youth and the School" we
learn much about the school, its methods, and equipment, but
little about the actual behavior of youth within the school

setting. However, an important question arises from a point made clear by Johnson. His point is that the school of the rural South conformed to the surrounding culture. It did so not merely in accommodating itself as best it could to poorly trained teachers and to a lack of funds and equipment, but in a more direct way by varying its session to adapt to the seasons. Thus school was closed when the children were needed in the fields and open when they were not. (1941:109) The question which this raises is that if the school can accommodate itself to the gross pressures of the external culture, does it also accommodate itself to more subtle ones, such as the informal interpersonal relationships of the students within the school? To the extent that it is able to do so, then there will be a modification of the activities of the school from the pattern planned by the school's administrators. Hence we will need to be alert for occasions when the operation of the school does not function smoothly, for such occasions may yield information relevant to this question.

Youth Culture and the Extracurriculum

In terms of historical sequence, the next major study involving high school youth appears to have been that of Hollingshead (1949), who studied all of the activities of the youths of Elmtown. In so doing it was necessary to use a variety of methods, of which the most important were participant observation, interviews, questionnaires, and life histories.

Hollingshead's principal foci in his chapter dealing with the high school and its extracurriculum were two. Firstly, he found that there was a direct correlation between the social class of the youth and the extent of his participation in the extracurriculum. If he was a youth from the lower strata of the city, participation was very limited, even in such areas as athletics (which Hollingshead considered to be a part of the extracurriculum). On the other hand, those students whose families were of the higher strata were active participants. This is a finding that we must heed, even though it is beyond the scope of the study to determine the extent or nature of social class differences.

A second feature emphasized by Hollingshead was that those extracurricular activities with spectator appeal received considerable public and official support. Those which were lacking in this characteristic, received only token support. However, for all that we learn much about Elmtown's youth, we learn surprisingly little about their attitudes to the extracurriculum. Nor do we learn much about the culture of Elmtown school.

Studies of Student Values

The Social System of the High School by Gordon (1957) was conducted with the use of questionnaires and utilized sociometric techniques to aid his interpretation of data. He also employed participant observation, since his research was conducted in the school in which he was employed as a

counsellor. His principal finding was the relationship
between clique membership and participation. He found that
the student sought prestige in relation to his peers and
what they valued rather than in relation to values defined
by the teachers, unless, of course, the two coincided. The
student tended to find lack of prestige a punishing situ-
ation since it meant social oblivion for him. The informal
social system was given coherency by the clique system.
(1957:130-134)

As was noted above, most studies of the extracurriculum
have been conducted by questionnaires. Gordon's study was a
slight departure from this: he interviewed a small number
of students and obtained five broad values that gave the
extracurriculum meaning for the students. He then devised
a rating scale which was submitted to the entire student
body. He thus obtained a rating on each activity within the
extracurricular, homeroom, and athletic programs with each
value ranked on a five point scale. As a result he had a
broad picture of what activities were important to the
students and why. However, he did not relate this infor-
mation to the culture of the school in any further way.

In one respect, Coleman's The Adolescent Society
(1961) was more comprehensive. Instead of limiting himself
to a single school as did Hollingshead and Gordon, he
surveyed ten. This meant, however, that much more reliance
had to be placed on questionnaires and the use of interviews,
to the neglect of the activities engaged in by the students.
His study highlighted the differentiation between males and

females, so far as valued activities are concerned, and the lack of homogeneity that exists in even such a relatively discrete region as the Middle West. He concentrated mainly upon the leaders of the school, and tended to ignore the ordinary student. While this emphasis is useful for determining the expressed valuations of the student body, it is forced to ignore the context in which these valuations are invoked. It also must ignore the differences between 'saying' and 'doing.' Surprisingly enough, for all the wealth of material that Coleman assembles, he completely ignores the extracurricular activity of the schools surveyed.

A less well-known study is a doctoral dissertation by Burnett. (1964) Like those already referred to, she studied the student culture in a small, middle-western, all white school. Unlike the previous studies, she utilized as her principal technique that of event analysis which enabled her to infer those things which were valued by the students without the necessity of being dependent upon the truth or falsity of the responses to question-naires, or upon the students completing and returning questionnaires. Furthermore, she was able to depict in a much more definitive manner the tempo and rhythms that characterized student life in the school that she studied. She found that it was the activities associated with the athletic and homeroom programs which played an important role in the transition of youth into the adult world.

She found that the students had established a ranking system for the extracurricular activity groups. Those which were important to the students were those that aided their attempts to raise the money needed for their various commitments and those which provided opportunities for socializing. Those activities associated solely with services or which were extensions of the curriculum were not valued highly. (1964:206-207)

The results reported by these three studies were highly congruent. They showed that the students valued most those activities which gave them prestige, displayed them before the public, and contributed to their "having a good time."

The Effects of Ecology

Big School, Small School by Barker and Gump (1964) is the application of the first author's theory concerning behavior settings to empirical test in the school setting. Essentially, a behavior setting is the physical setting in which activity occurs. As such, the setting imposes limitations upon the activity that can occur within it. Of the several possible ways in which this theory could be tested, Barker and his associates investigated the effects of population size upon the behavior of the persons in the school. As a consequence they chose thirteen high schools in Kansas. Their enrollment ranged from 35 to 2,287.

The procedures of the researchers required that they determine for each school the specific number and type of behavior settings which existed. They found four varieties of setting common to all schools: educational, athletic, extracurricular, and operational (or administrative). They were able to show that, for athletic activities the largest school had 65 times as many students as the smallest school, but offered only 5 times as many opportunities to engage in sport. (1964:55-58)

It is also reported that in the smaller schools, the student is under more pressure to participate in extra-curricular events, and has a greater desire to participate than does the student from the large school. These results were true for both popular students and for those whose popularity was marginal. (1964:114-135)

These latter results were obtained using the techniques of social psychology. As such there were small numbers of subjects, and the methods included responding to questions either with a spontaneous statement, or by sorting cards with standard statements on them. As such, this was a laboratory type study. This study cautions us to heed the ecological factors of each event, in order to perceive their influences, especially in regard to events with wide differences in the number of participants. Secondly, if ecological factors operate in the manner suggested in this study, do they also operate in other ways?

Implications of the Literature

From the review of the literature, it is evident that
only one piece of research has focussed on a high school for
Negro American students. Such an investigation may have
pertinence because of the current discussions on problems
of integration. Secondly, none of this literature attempts
to ascertain the nature of the student culture and to relate
this information to the operation of the extracurriculum.
Thirdly, the utilization of the technique of event analysis
offers an admirable opportunity to heed the effect of ecology
in actual events, rather than through the indirect methods
used by Barker and his associates.

However, from the literature, we can also expect that
the socioeconomic status of the students' families, and the
size of their school will affect the degree of their parti-
cipation in the extracurricular program. The references
cited also indicate that the organization of the school
adapts to the pressures from the community. We shall need to
be alert, in this investigation of student culture, to the
way in which the student culture is the source of modifications
to the organization of the school.

Hence this literature has both helped focus the direction
of the study, and drawn attention to some of the factors
that may be operating.

Organization of the Chapters

The present chapter has accomplished four things: it has outlined the problems to be answered; it has set out the methodology used in collecting and analyzing the data; it has outlined the theoretical framework within which the interpretation of the data will be made; and it has reviewed the literature related to the problem being investigated.

Chapter Two will provide background information concerning the community and the state educational system and will show how these effect the operation of the school. The general organization of the school itself will also be outlined.

Chapter Three will examine the structure and organization of the students and faculty. In so doing it will analyze the pattern of interpersonal relations revealed by ceremonies. This ideal structure will be contrasted with the patterns of interpersonal relations found in daily activity.

The fourth chapter will present a description of ceremonial events and will analyze them in order to present a description of the student's world view.

This theme will be continued in the succeeding chapter. However, the source material will be the everyday activity of the school.

The final chapter will summarize the findings, answering the specific questions set forth in this chapter. These findings will be applied to the extracurriculum.

CHAPTER II

CARVER HIGH SCHOOL: ITS BACKGROUND AND ORGANIZATION

The present chapter will present an overview of the
community in which the research was conducted, together with
a brief survey of the state educational system. These will
form an introduction to a discussion of George Washington
Carver High School.*

After outlining the general features of the school,
its building, and its administrative structure, there will be
presented a description of the key features of its daily
organization. The arrangements for the operation of both the
extracurriculum and the curriculum will be presented. This
will be followed by a description of the temporal divisions
of school life. The chapter will conclude with a discussion
of the requirements for graduation and the standards achieved
by the pupils.

The Community

Beach City: Its History and Growth

George Washington Carver High School is located in a
city in north central Florida. The surrounding countryside

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*With the single exception of the state name, all names
of places and persons in this report are pseudonyms.

is comparatively flat, and is utilized for farming, as it has been since the first settlements. The history of European settlement in the district dates from 1817 when the King of Spain granted land to Don Fernando de la Maza Arredondo on condition that he establish a colony of two hundred families within four years after the first settlement was founded. This latter event occurred in 1820. Within the next three years, only twenty families had arrived. Following the annexation of Florida by the United States in 1821, the surrounding county was established in 1824.

At first development was erratic. Settlers and adventurers came in moderate numbers before the Seminole Wars, but these wars effectively halted progress until the mid eighteen-forties. Thereafter, until the Civil War, growth was rapid. Families moving south from Georgia and the Carolinas introduced cotton which for a time became the major industry. Beach City itself was founded and became the county seat during this period of progress. Following the Civil War, there was a decade of slow growth marked by considerable hostility between Negroes and whites, Radical Republicans and Democrats. After the Democrats gained political power in 1876, the relations between Negroes and whites stabilized in the pattern that became typical of the South. After the Civil War, the county became the center of ranching, orange orchards, cotton fields, and truck gardens. (Buchholz 1928; Davis 1913; McVoy 1937)

Beach City developed as a market, political, and recreation center for the surrounding community. Its growth was slow until after 1920, at which time the city's Planning Division shows that its population was less than 7,000. (1968:12) Even today it has few major industries, and is dependent upon the university for much of its wealth. There was, consequently, a surfeit of service positions, especially as cafeteria and restaurant staff and related positions, but a general lack of other types of unskilled and semi-skilled occupational opportunities. As a result, Negro men sometimes found it necessary to move away in an attempt to find employment.

Beach City is less than an hour's drive from the nearest neighboring city, which is smaller than it, and to the south. To the north, and a little more than an hour's drive away is a city of comparable size. Two other larger cities are an hour-and-a-half to the northeast, and two-and-a-half hours to the southwest by road. Beach City is connected to each of these by daily train service, and by a daily air service to the former.

Characteristics of the Population

In 1968 when this study was conducted, the Planning Division of Beach City estimated that the city population was 62,500 and that an additional 13,000 lived outside the city limits, but within its urban area. (1968:11) The population of the county of which Beach City was the county

seat was estimated at being 93,000 (compared with 72,000 residing in the urban area at that time). (1968:15) In 1967 the Negro population living in the city's urban area was estimated to be 13,363. (1968:34) Negroes comprised 18.5 percent of the population. (1968:33) Although the Negro population was still increasing, it was not increasing as fast as that of the white population.

The Negro American Community of Beach City

The Planning Division noted that 83 percent of the Negro families lived in five of its planning divisions. (1968:35) However, two of these were adjacent, and the other three also adjoin one another. Hence the Negro population is concentrated in two large sections of the city.

The homes of the Negro Americans were of two broad types: older, often less well cared for frame homes, and newer, usually relatively tidily kept frame and concrete block homes. The students themselves indicated that only one section of the city was a highly undesirable place in which to live. They explained that other areas might look more untidy, or older, but that they would be content to live in those areas if they had to, but not "down by the creek" where it was noisy and quarrelsome.

As might be expected in a Southern, rural city, the families of the students were poor, comparatively less well educated, and employed in the less desirable occupations. In support of this generalization we may note that while

57 percent of Beach City's Negroes earn $3,000 or less per annum, only 27.9 percent of the total population have incomes this low. Further, of those aged 25 years or older 10.3 percent of the city's Negroes had completed high school, while 21.1 percent of the total population had received this amount of education. Table 1 presents data to enable comparison between the occupations of Negroes and the occupations of the total population. Here we observe that 68.1 percent of the Negroes are employed as service workers, in private households and as general laborers. Only 26.7 percent of the total population is so employed. On the other hand, while 29.7 percent of the total population occupy managerial, clerical and sales staff positions, only 2.5 percent of the Negro Americans are employed in these capacities. (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960: pp. 177,202).

As the county seat, and as the largest city of the area, Beach City provided a full range of facilities and people did not need to go elsewhere to shop. Almost all facilities in the town were officially available to Negroes, and the local newspaper carried comparatively few stories which would indicate that racial tensions existed. Most Negro informants testified to the diminishing number of discriminatory incidents, even while admitting that they would feel 'uncomfortable' if they in fact availed themselves of the privileges legally available. Of course, the economic conditions of the majority served to ensure that there were few opportunities to patronize many facilities.

TABLE 1

THE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF NON-WHITE AND OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
EMPLOYED IN THE MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS DURING 1959

| | Non-white | | | | Total Population | | | |
| | County[1] | | City[2] | | County[3] | | City[4] | |
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	7020	100	3004	100	26515	100	10842	100
Professional, Technical and Kindred	312	4.5	194	6.5	4841	18.3	2594	23.9
Farmers and Farm Managers	179	2.5	8	0.2	712	2.7	29	0.3
Other Managers and Proprietors	103	1.5	44	1.5	2504	9.5	1031	9.5
Clerical and Kindred	51	0.7	16	0.5	3129	11.8	1535	14.1
Sales	35	0.5	16	0.5	1673	6.3	667	6.1
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred	296	4.2	143	4.8	2293	8.6	767	7.1
Operatives	1039	14.8	353	11.8	2621	9.9	783	7.2
Private Household Workers	1389	19.8	656	21.8	1583	6.0	737	6.8
Other Service Workers	1570	22.4	958	31.9	3130	11.8	1586	14.6
Farm Laborers	642	9.1	8	0.2	944	3.5	24	0.2
General Laborers	994	14.2	432	14.4	1644	6.2	573	5.3
Other	410	5.8	176	5.9	1431	5.4	516	4.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census: U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Volume I,
Characteristics of Population, Part 11, Florida (Washington D. C.; U.S. Government
Printing Office, 1963) (1) p.262 (2) p.208 (3) p.238 (4) p.183.

The city had not had a major racial disturbance,
although during the year of the study there had been a series
of incidents in which arsonists had attempted to burn stores
that were owned by whites and which catered to the Negro
community. A minor disturbance followed the assassination
of Dr. Martin Luther King,Jr. A curfew was imposed and the
National Guard was called out. Such action reflected the
popular opinion that "things were worse than they seemed
on the surface," and that those in power were fearful of
what might happen. In any event, there was no rioting, and
the curfew was lifted the day after Dr. King's funeral.

Thus, on the surface, all was calm. Since this study
did not attempt to probe this question, suffice it to say
that at no stage, not even after the assassination, did the
researcher gain the impression that there were racial
overtones in the reactions to him by either faculty or
students of Carver High School.

State Educational Organization

The Florida educational system has three units: the
county, with its Board of Public Instruction headed by a
superintendent who, for the local county, was elected; the
State Department of Education, headed by the State Super-
intendent of Public Instruction; and the State Board of
Education, chaired by the State Governor.

State Board of Education

The State Board of Education is the policy making body. In general it sets minimal requirements with which each county must comply. However, to the extent that the State Legislature has also set maximum levels for local tax assessments, the central state government also stipulates the range within which school finances must be kept.

State Department of Education

The State Department of Education functions both as a service organization, and in an administrative capacity. To this end it maintains a staff of experts who specialize in all major areas of education. In its capacity as a service organization it employs specialists in such diverse areas as architecture, pupil counselling, and school law. As examples of its activities, it prepares on request from the county school boards the plans for new school buildings, conducts in-service seminars for teachers, and buys the school buses required by the several counties.

As an administrative organization, it accredits schools, certifies teachers, approves the textbooks from which the local schools may make their choices and sets out the basic requirements for school bus safety.

County School Board

The local county is the major unit of educational administration. The county school board is charged with the

responsibility of ensuring that each individual school functions as efficiently as possible, and that the results of advance planning, of financial shortages, of the availability of new materials etc., are made known to the schools so that they in turn may act appropriately. It is its duty to ensure that the Florida School Laws, and their accompanying Regulations are implemented and complied with.

From this brief overview, we see that in Florida the State Board of Education has a quite marked effect upon the operation of the local school: from such matters as school bus safety standards, to teacher qualifications, and the stipulation of acceptable and nonacceptable items of classroom equipment. On the other hand the local county officials are largely restricted to implementing the decisions of the State Board in a way that will best serve the local community.

General Characteristics of the School

General

Carver High School moved to its present site in 1957. Although it traces its history from a school founded in 1867 by the Freedman's Bureau, this was the first time it had not been associated with an elementary school.

Carver High School was the only secondary school for Negroes in the city. In addition, it also served as the Negro secondary school for five villages which were located within fifteen miles of the city. A small number of Negroes

also attended the white junior and senior high schools in
Beach City. Only one white boy was enrolled at Carver
during the year that observations were made. Approximately
two-thirds of the total enrollment were transported between
their home neighborhoods and the school by bus. Its student
population exceeded 1,600. As the building was designed for
less than 1,500, it was moderately overcrowded.

The School Building

A sketch of the building is shown in Figure 2. Three
parallel wings ran east-west. The most southerly of them was
assigned to the junior high school grades, the central one
to the senior high school section, and the northerly wing was
utilized by the music, athletic, and vocational departments.

Joining these three corridors was a central hall, which
gave entry to the lunchroom at its southern end. From it,
to the east, and between the senior wing and the vocational
wing, was the library. The western ends of the junior and
senior wings were joined by a hall, which served as the
administrative wing. It was flanked by offices for the
principal, vice-principals, dean of students, and counsellors,
as well as the general office.

The building was a single story structure, with central
heating, but no cooling system. All rooms had one wall of
windows, which gave plenty of light but only partially
adequate ventilation. As the corridors were enclosed, they
tended to increase the volume of noise. There was a shortage

Key to Figure 2.

A   Areas used by <u>Athletic</u> Department.

C   General <u>classrooms</u>.

M   <u>Music</u> rooms.

O   Administrative <u>offices</u>.

V   <u>Vocational</u> classrooms and work areas.

X   Approach to the auditorium lobby.

Unmarked: Service areas and washrooms.

⌢   Doors.

══   Sliding Doors.

⌐_ _ _ _ Covered concrete paths, and work areas.

Figure 2 (Opposite) Sketch Plan of Carver High School
Not drawn to scale.

M

Gymnasium

M

A

A   V   V   V

Athletic and Vocational Areas

C   A   A   A   V   V   V   V   V   V   V

Library

X

O

C   C   C

C   C   C   C   C   C   C   C   C

C

Senior High School Wing

C   C   C

C   C   C   C   C   C   C   V   V

Wing

Central

Hall

O

O

O   C   C

C   C   C   C   C   C

C

O

O

Administrative

Junior High School Wing

C   C

C   C   C   C   C   C

O

Lunchroom

N

V
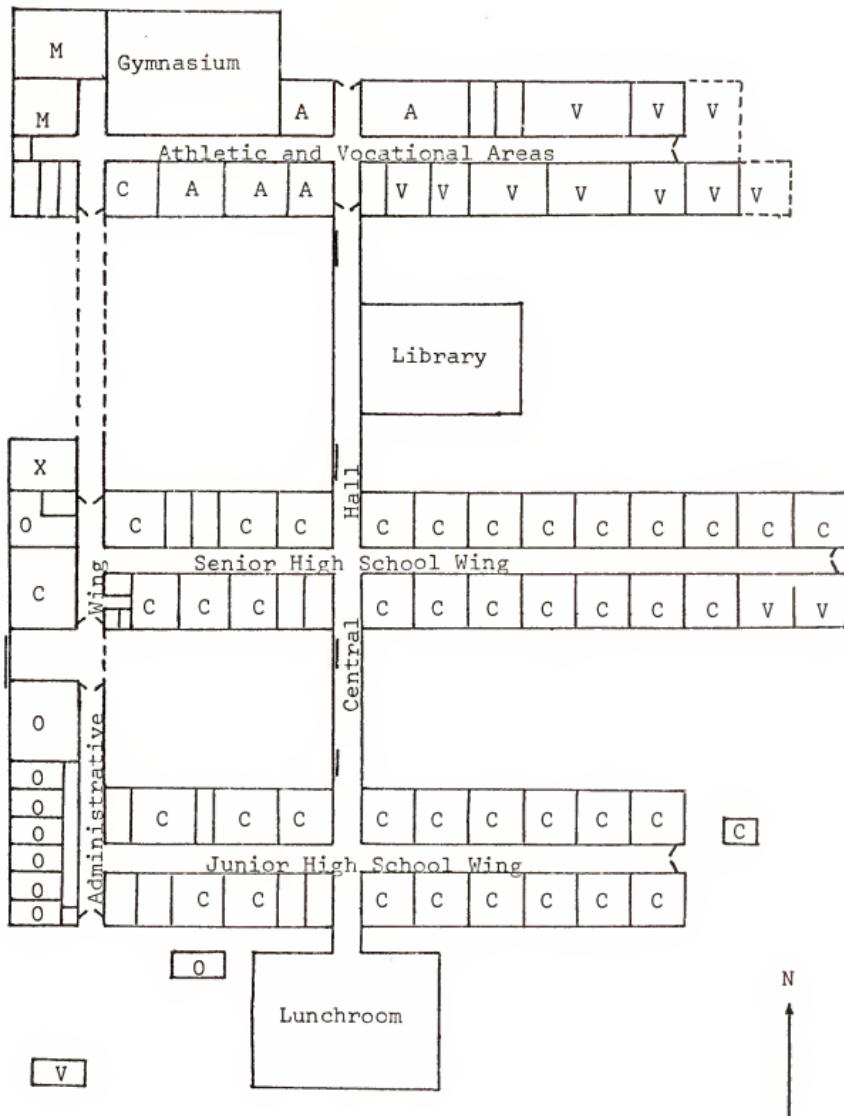
of office space, and the only classrooms that possessed
space which could be used as an office were those with
storage facilities, such as the science rooms.

Separated from the main building were the auditorium
capable of seating 800 people, a temporary classroom, a
reading laboratory housed in a mobile home, and the driver
education facilities.

Administrative Structure

The principal was the administrative leader of the
school, charged with coordinating its several spheres of
activity. To assist him were five other heads of divisions
within the school. Two of these had dual roles. The
occupant of the position of vice-principal of the junior
high school also filled the position of dean of administra-
tion. The occupant of the position of vice-principal
of the senior high school also filled the position of dean
of curriculum. In addition, there were the dean of students,
the director of athletics, and the director of counselling.
The occupants of the last two positions were superior to
the regular counsellors and to the coaching and physical
education teachers respectively. The regular teachers were
responsible to the dean most concerned with the problem of
the moment. Thus, if they needed to discuss an infractious
student, they would contact the dean of students, but if it
was a matter of planning the courses for the following year,
they would work with the dean of curriculum.

Among themselves, the teachers were organized on a subject-department basis, with one teacher being appointed head of department, and responsible for its general administration, planning, and coordination.

Separately organized and coordinated were the staffs of kitchen workers and janitors. The latter, in particular, were charged not merely with the responsibility for the cleanliness of the building but also with certain pupil-oriented functions. These included ensuring that pupils did not enter the building before a stipulated time each morning, and the supervision of students assigned to them to perform specific duties as a punishment for misconduct. Further, if the pupils organized an event at school, such as a dance in the gymnasium, they were required to either clean up themselves or to pay the janitorial staff to do so. Such cleaning up was not considered part of the regular duties of the janitors.

The Organization of the School

Being the only secondary school for Negro Americans within the city, Carver High School combined both the junior high school grades 7, 8, and 9 and those of the senior high school: 10, 11, and 12. These terms must not be confused with the terms junior class and senior class which refer to grades 11 and 12 respectively.

Definition of Terms

To ensure clarity, in this work a 'lesson' will be used to refer to that daily set event when a given group of pupils interact with a particular teacher. The length of the lesson may vary, being one or two or three periods in duration. On the other hand, a 'course' will refer to the sum of the daily lessons which occurred on each day of the week. At Carver High, all courses consisted of either 90 or 180 lessons. The 'daily work load' of a pupil will refer to the number of periods for which he has lessons. Thus a student enrolled for a single period of English, a single period of mathematics, and three periods of cosmetology, would have a daily work load of five periods, although only attending three lessons. At the end of the year, he would have completed one course of English worth one Carnegie Unit, one course of mathematics, worth another Carnegie Unit, and one course of cosmetology worth three Carnegie Units.

Unlike many other studies to which this is related, the term 'extracurriculum,' or 'extracurricular activities,' will refer to the organized activities popularly known as 'clubs.' It will specifically exclude all other activities, especially those associated with the student council, athletics, and homeroom period. The period of the school week devoted to the extracurriculum will be referred to as the 'activity period.'

'Homeroom' will refer to those activities that occur or are planned when the entire senior class meets as a body.

In this respect, the homeroom program will encompass the
planning related to the semi-formal class activities that
usually occur outside normal school hours. Specific events
within this program will be referred to by name throughout,
and their relationship to the other activities will be made
clear.

Length of Lessons

All 'academic' courses, such as English, mathematics,
and science, were studied daily for one period but 'practical'
courses, such as masonry, agriculture, and office procedures
were of either two or three periods duration each day. Each
period was of fifty-one minutes' duration. A four-minute
interval separated each period, during which those students
not attending a double or triple period lesson moved to
their next room.

The Length of the School Day

The school day for both teachers and pupils began at
either 7:30 a.m. or 8:25 a.m. and ended at either 2:25 p.m.
or 3:20 p.m., respectively. Either the first or the final
period was excluded from the school day for both teachers and
pupils. Two starting and finishing times were necessary
because of the overcrowded facilities and because of a
shortage of school buses in the county.

Lunch Hour Organization

The overcrowding also necessitated two lunch hours: that for the junior high school coinciding with the fifth period for the senior high school. At the end of their fifth period, the senior high school went to lunch, and the junior high school began their fifth period.

This particular arrangement became modified in practice. Almost all vocationally oriented lessons for the senior and junior classes were of three periods duration. All students from these two classes who were enrolled in vocationally oriented lessons had their lunch during the junior high school lunch hour. This was because this lunch period separated the three periods in the morning from the three periods in the afternoons.

Lunch hour, in itself, was something of a misnomer. So that all could be accommodated, each student was allowed only twenty minutes in the lunchroom. For the remainder of the period students were allocated to study halls. These, especially for the senior high school, were relatively unsupervised periods in which the main requirements were two: to refrain from walking about the halls, and to remain relatively quietly in either a classroom or the auditorium. Officially, it was contrary to school rules to leave the building. In general students occupied their time as they thought fit. The majority remained in the building. However, few studied, and a small number were always to be found in the corridors.

The Extracurriculum

A further change occurred on most Wednesdays. Since so
many students travelled by bus, it was impractical to have
the extracurricular activities after the school day ended.
Another factor reinforced this decision: many of the older
students were employed in the afternoons and so would have
been unable to participate for that reason. The problem
was further complicated by some students leaving school at
2:30 p.m. and others at 3:30 p.m. Hence, it was impractical
to designate the last period as an activity period.

Consequently, activity period became an extra period
inserted into the regular daily timetable immediately prior
to the commencement of the sixth period. Experience had
revealed to the school administrators that there was
insufficient activity to warrant daily activity periods,
so the extracurricular activities were held once a week.
Wednesday was chosen as the day. On this day, if activities
took place, and fifty-one minute period became a forty
minute period.*

At Carver High School there were twenty-five extra-
curricular activity groups. Six of these were branches of
national or state-wide organizations, such as the Future
Farmers of America. They were sponsored by the teachers of

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*Occasionally during the school year, assemblies for
special purposes were called. On some of these the activity
day timetable was also invoked, with the assembly being held
during the activity period.

the related courses. The remaining activities had usually been suggested by the teachers who sponsored them. Even where students suggested an activity, its introduction depended upon a faculty member being willing to supervise it. No provision existed by which students could formally request that a teacher sponsor an activity for them.

Of the activity groups available, seventeen were for members of the senior high school and eight were available to the junior high school students. At least fifteen of the extracurricular activities were directly associated with the formal curriculum. With the exception of the National Honor Society, prerequisites for membership were not defined in terms of grade point average.

Three of the senior high school extracurricular activities were intended for girls only, while one was restricted to boys. In the junior high school there was only one monosexual group, which was for girls.

During any one activity period, half of the extra-curricular activity groups met, for meetings were held fortnightly, on alternate Wednesdays. Unfortunately detailed information could not be obtained of the numbers and sexes of the pupils who participated in the extra-curricular program. Membership in the smallest group observed was eight; in the largest it was about seventy-five. The latter was a girls' group. Most groups had between twenty-five and thirty members whenever they were observed.

However, this figure fluctuated from week to week, and was higher at the beginning of the year than it was at the end of the year.

Those students not participating in the extracurriculum went to study hall. Here they read, or talked, or played cards, or listened to pocket radios, or slept. Only rarely did a teacher insist upon study. Several senior class members gave an almost unanimous answer to a query concerning the reason they spent activity period as they did: "I go where I can socialize the most."

With the daily timetable structured as it was, activity period gave a considerable number of students a lengthy interval of comparative freedom. The senior section of the school had lunch-study hall immediately preceding activity period. For several members of the senior class it interrupted a two or three period lesson so that rarely was any work done before hand. For these people there was, in effect, three consecutive periods of underactivity.

Homeroom Period

At the conclusion of first period, and commencing at 8:25 a.m., the daily homeroom period was held. Each grade was divided into sections of about thirty-five pupils. Students were assigned to sections alphabetically. As the sections were unrelated to any course being taken by the pupil, many of the members of the homeroom section associated together only at that time. In some cases, most noticeably

in the senior class, the sponsors did not even teach the
pupils who were members of the homeroom section to which
the teacher had been assigned. Homeroom period was used
for minor administrative matters such as to check attendance.
Except for the senior class, the several homeroom sections
into which each year-class was divided rarely combined
into a meeting of the entire class.

The Curriculum

The subjects offered in the curriculum are shown in
Table 2. A significant feature of the school's organization
was the arrangement of the curriculum into self-contained,
nonsequential course. This resulted in the students being
able to plan their course with considerable flexibility.
The master timetable for the school was prepared after the
students had selected their courses. Hence, it was designed
to accommodate the students' choices. The most important
consequence was that, except for the English units, most
elective courses were taken by students from all three
senior high school grades.

The Impact of Time Upon School Organization

The life of the school was broken into units by the
passage of time. Each segment of time had a definite point
of conclusion: the period bell, the approach of nightfall,
the weekend, and the term vacation. The two most meaningful

TABLE 2

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM OFFERINGS

Compulsory Courses

Group	Course Name	Grade Level
Language Arts	English II	10
	English III	11
	English IV	12
Social Studies	American History	11
	Problems of American Democracy	12

Elective Courses

Group	Course Name	Grade Level
Social Studies	Civics	9-12
	World Culture	10
	Economics and Psychology	12
Mathematics	General Mathematics	10-12
	Algebra I	10
	Algebra II	11-12
	Plane Geometry	11-12
	Algebra III	12
Science	Biology	10
	Physical Science	11-12
	Chemistry	11-12
	Physics	12
Business Education	General Business	10-12
	Typing	10-12
	Business Arithmetic	10-12
	Shorthand I	11-12
	Shorthand II	11-12
	Bookkeeping	11-12

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Elective Courses

Foreign Language	Spanish I-A	10
	Spanish I-B	11
	Spanish II	12
Home Economics	Clothing I	10-12
	Clothing II	10-12
	Homemaking	10-12
	Food and Nutrition	10-12
	Childcare	10-12
	Modern Family	10-12
Music	Appreciation	10-12
	Senior Chorus	10-12
	Band	10-12
	Instrumentation	10-12
Physical Education	General	10
	Varsity Sports	10-12
	Driver Education	10-12

Vocational Courses

One Year	Office Procedure (Secretarial)	12
	Office Procedure (Clerical)	12
Two Years	Cooperative Training	11 & 12
	Cosmetology	11 & 12
	Horticulture	11 & 12
	Machine Shop	11 & 12
	Masonry	11 & 12
	Tailoring	11 & 12

units, it was found, were the school day and the school
year, although both the week and the semester had their
distinctive features.

The Daily Rhythm

Discussants of the educational process often make the
plea to those learning about teaching, that one should
'teach the child, not the subject.' Out of this plea have
come many innovations in the organization of the school.
Carver High is currently introducing one of these: team
teaching. At the time of the study only grades 7 and 8
had been brought under this pattern.

These students were divided into groups of from 125 to
140, and were then subdivided into four lesson groups. The
membership of these lesson groups was stable. They were
taught by a team of five teachers, one of whom was a reading
specialist. As was customary throughout the school, the
students changed rooms at the end of each period for it was
the teacher, not the pupils, who had a permanent room.

The school day was more traditional for the students
of the senior section. The student in this section of the
school had a daily work load of five or six periods. The
sixth period, for those whose timetable showed only five
periods, was officially a study hall. However, at least
some students completed their daily work load during
consecutive periods and left school at the completion of the

last one. The timetable for each day of the week was identical, except as it was varied by the implementation of the activity day timetable.

Among the students of the senior class (and all other classes of the senior section) very few had an identical daily schedule. The result was that instead of the teacher coming to a group of students, or even a group of students coming to a teacher, a collection of individuals gathered at a designated place to form a group of whom the nucleus was the teacher. Only a few teachers permitted students to form subgroups in which the pupils could cooperate in the task of the lesson. Instead, each student was expected to work as an individual in isolation from his peers. He was expected to respond to only the initiation of the teacher within the framework of set events.

All other modes of interaction were considered disruptive. Thus the daily rhythm for each pupil in the senior high school was always the same, but it was one which was unique for him. When we combine this feature with the requirement that he work alone during most lessons and with the lunch hour regulations, it becomes apparent that there were few opportunities within the formal organization of the school for the students to create student centered institutions.

There was another impact resulting from the way in which the school day was organized for the pupils and teachers of the senior high school. The individualistic nature of each student's program, coupled with the necessity

that teachers have their planning periods and their lunch
hours at different times, as well as their need to arrive
and depart at different hours made it very difficult for
the teachers of a particular pupil to meet to discuss the
pupil and his welfare. Meetings to discuss the pupil
therefore tended to be informal, and to occur after a
disruptive incident between a pupil and one of his teachers.
While such meetings were often effective in themselves, the
lack of planned subsequent meetings prevented evaluation
and review of the individual pupil's case. Such meetings of
teachers as did occur with some degree of frequency, were
meetings of those teachers who taught closely related
subjects. Since the student took only one course in each
subject area during each year, the focus of the meeting
became placed on the subject, rather than the pupil.

Thus the structural principle that brought pupils
together, which brought teachers and pupils together, and
which brought teachers together became an interest in the
content of the individual lessons, which through time,
became the content of the course. Thus, tangency was
established by the subject matter to be taught to the
pupil and learned by him.

The Weekly Rhythm

It was noticeable that the first day of the week was
quiet and businesslike, although students always had much
to discuss. This pattern of quietness and attention to

business dissipated towards lunchtime, but reappeared the following morning. However, the second day of the week was usually less quiet than Monday, and by lunchtime noise throughout the school was rife. Wednesday appeared to be a noisy day almost every week. Thursday was less clearcut, since it was sometimes noisy, and at other times was quiet. Friday mornings, however, were usually quiet and busy but by lunchtime the end of the week was near, and few were interested in working.

<u>The Semester</u>

With one or two exceptions, all courses were studied for the complete academic year of 180 days. For examination purposes, the year was divided into two semesters, each of which was further subdivided into three units of six weeks. Tests were held at intervals decided upon by the teachers, which was usually every six weeks. Some teachers, however, gave tests at other times. At the end of each semester, the semester examination lasting two days was held. The six weekly tests did not appear to create anxiety among the students, but the semester examinations were the subject of comment and last minute studying.

The county had installed a computer, and all grades were processed electronically. The student's report card consisted of a computer printed data card, which showed his name, subject names, the results both of his previous six weekly tests and of the semester examinations in both

percentage and grade point averages. The grade levels were the standard A = 4.0, B = 3.0, C = 2.0, D = 1.0, E = 0.0. The card also showed the overall grade point average. The school did not require any form of acknowledgment from the parents.

The Yearly Sequence

The transition from elementary school to secondary school can be difficult. Recognition of this fact was one reason that team teaching had been introduced to grades 7 and 8. Here the pupils were members of a stable group, taught by the same few teachers.

After completing these two years, the pupil was promoted to grade 9, which served as a transition year. The program was less rigidly structured than it had been, and the student's lesson groups changed their composition for each period of the day in the same manner as did the lesson groups in the senior high school. However, the grade 9 pupil merely intermingled with other grade 9 pupils. At the conclusion of this year he entered the senior high school where he was mixed with pupils from the other two more senior classes as well as his own year group. Hence, despite the use of the six grade numbers as names, and of the terms 'freshman,' 'sophomore,' 'junior,' and 'senior' as alternative labels to indicate that the status of the pupils changed from year to year, there were in effect only three organizational steps which marked the pupil's progression through the school.

In order to gain promotion at the end of each year,
students in the junior high school were required to pass at
least three of the four basic subjects: English, social
studies, mathematics and science. A pass was a grade of D or
better. Senior high school pupils were not required to
repeat a year if they did poorly. If one of them failed
a single course he was required to repeat it during the
summer program. If he failed two or more courses, he was
expected to enroll for one of them during the summer program,
and to make the others up at some other time before graduation.
This could be done either by taking six courses instead of
five, or by enrolling in subsequent summer programs. Failure
in a subject could also result from absences, as well from
poor school work. If the student was absent from ten or
more lessons, and was unable to offer an adequate reason for
the absences in excess of ten, he could be failed.

Completing the Cycle

Graduation requirements were little different from
those for annual promotion. The total program of the pupil
was examined to ensure that the requirements set down by the
Florida Department of Education were met. In general, these
required the student to have earned a minimum of fifteen
credits during grades 10, 11, and 12. Three of these must
be in English one in mathematics, one in science, two in
social studies, and one in physical education. In addition
to these specific requirements, girls were required to have

one credit in a home economics subject among their fifteen credits. (1966:24) The school itself certified that the pupil had met these requirements, and had achieved satisfactory standards in his courses.

Factors Affecting the Quality of the Product

The school attempted to convey the image of maintaining firm standards. It was observed that thirteen students from among the graduating seniors were not granted their diplomas. One of these was a student who had omitted a physical education course in its regular sequence and who, as a senior class member, enrolled but failed to attend. Another was a student who failed in two of his senior year courses. On the other hand, only three of the more than 160 seniors obtained scores in excess of the sixtieth percentile on the state-wide placement examination. The sixtieth percentile was the minimum score for entry to the freshman year of most of the state's four year colleges.

These results on the Florida Placement Test reflect what Burnett has termed 'the covering syndrome.' By this she meant that the teachers are concerned with 'covering the course,' that is, with presenting a predetermined quantity of material. The opposite of such an approach occurs when the teacher ensures that the pupil learns what has been taught. Burnett attributed the development of such a syndrome to the lack of 'task sequence quality control,'

by which she meant that examinations are viewed "not as inspections of teachers' work but as tests of students' work." (1964:112-114)

While he would not disagree with the application of this conclusion to Carver High, the present researcher would be unwilling to apply it too hastily. In the case of Carver High School, and its students, many of the ills that beset the poorer families of all races could be seen. Most of the senior students had part-time jobs during the afternoon and evening, most came from poorer homes where conditions for home study were inadequate. Probably, most were suffering from an inadequate diet, with the consequence that minor illnesses had a more deleterious effect. Being poorly clad, they were cold even during Florida's mild winter.

As if these conditions were not enough, their school library was inadequate, when judged either in terms of the total number of books or in terms of the range and depth of its coverage. Furthermore, the pupils were not permitted to take their textbooks home. To these pupils, much of the work seemed irrelevant and meaningless. At least one of them considered their literature to be too "goody-goody" and not "earthy" enough to be realistic. Can the work be meaningful and important if the teacher permits one or two to sleep during the lesson? The brighter students commented on the lack of advanced courses, and of the limited range of foreign language offerings which would have prepared them better for college.

Difficulties such as these were compounded by characteristics of the behavior setting: overcrowded corridors, an unreliable system to signal period changes, a lack of appropriate space and facilities for the use to which the rooms were put, and inadequate furniture and storage facilities. The overcrowded corridors and their length at least contributed to the pupils being consistently late for their classes.

As the bells to signal period changes could not be relied upon to be punctual, there were planning problems for the teachers. Since all faculty wished the lessons to begin as promptly as possible pupils were not held after the bells were sounded. Rather, their sounding was instantly accompanied by the surge of pupils leaving classrooms and entering the halls. Since the teachers could not know whether the bells would be rung two minutes early, or five minutes late, or whether this period would be shortened because of the late ending of the previous one, it became usual for lessons to be shorter than the time available, so that distractful noise within classrooms began to mount a few minutes before the period ended. As pupils entered the corridors noisily, and were talkative while there, time was needed at the beginning of the next lesson for them to become quiet again.

For subjects such as art and science, equipment was lacking to enable a completely balanced and rounded program to be undertaken. There was no course in woodworking since

the pupils were required to purchase their own timber. The
course in tailoring was hampered by the same factor. Band
and chorus facilities were, at best, barely adequate. The
classrooms used by both suffered from poor acoustics, while
in the band room there was a lack of stands for sheet music.

The inadequate storage facilities, which were especially
evident in the art room, contributed to untidiness, and did
not lend any incentive to teachers or pupils to put forth
that little extra effort that counts so much.

The shortage of storage facilities merely reflected
the shortage of classrooms. This shortage meant that study
halls had to be conducted in the auditorium, where the
fixed seats lacked writing arms, or in the lunchroom where
the noise of meal preparation or of washing up, and the
aroma of cooking food were hardly conducive to concentrated
study. The shortage of classrooms also necessitated the use
of the auditorium stage as a classroom during much of the day.

These factors may, in each room or for each teacher, be
little things. When taken together for the whole school, as
they were for the pupil who moved from an inadequacy of one
sort in one period, to a different one in almost every
successive period, then their effects were cumulative.

Summary

The history of the community, and of the school itself
was briefly reviewed, to reveal an agricultural tradition
of large scale ranching and farming alongside small scale

truck farming. It was shown that the community was rapidly expanding due mainly to the presence of a major state university. There were few industries and, consequently, those with a limited range of skills were forced to emmigrate in order to find work. Most of the Negro Americans were employed in low salaried occupations.

A review of the state educational system revealed it to be quite centralized, and tending to impose decisions upon the county board of education. The effect of this was that local administrators were limited to adapting these centrally determined regulations to fit the local scene.

The school building was found to be moderately over-crowded. Most pressing were the shortages of office space and suitable areas for study halls. As the building was a single story structure, its area was large, so that several minutes were required to walk from the end of one corridor to the opposite end of another, as students were frequently required to do.

It was shown that the course content was the focus for planned, or structured interactions among teachers and other teachers, or pupils and other pupils, or teachers and pupils. This was shown to result from the fact that each pupil had his own individual schedule.

The school's extracurricular program could not be organized after school, or during the final period, because of transport arrangements imposed upon the school. Hence

it occurred during the middle of the day. Regular scheduling was disrupted to accommodate this and other special events.

Although the students were arranged into six year-classes, the organization of Carver High School was such that there were only three status segments: grades 7 and 8, grade 9, and senior high school members. While members of the junior high school were required to repeat year-classes, members of the senior high school were not. This was a reflection of the fact that courses were structured independently of each other, rather than sequentially, and could be taken at any time in the three years of the senior high school.

The requirements for graduation were set by the Florida Department of Education but it was the school itself which certified that the student had met there requirements. It was reasoned that factors associated with their home backgrounds, and with the school's behavior settings were important determinants of the quality of learning achieved by the students.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

Social Structure

The present chapter will begin by delineating the
social structure of both the faculty and the student groups
at Carver High School. As social structure will most likely
be revealed during interactions that occur during ritual, we
shall analyze the events associated with the graduation of
the senior class. These events have been chosen because
they were the ones where ritual most clearly governed the
pattern of interaction among the various statuses within
the school.

Those events in which faculty members were officiants
were characterized by much more specific differentiation
among the roles than was the case when students acted as
officiants. When we analyze them we find the following
positions: master of ceremonies, pastor, guest speaker,
choir mistress, principal, sponsor of the initiates,
initiates, student representative, and audience.

The control of the events was vested in the master
of ceremonies who, for the major events, was one of the
vice-principals. He initiated, to the pastor (a visitor),
to the choir mistress, to the principal, and to the sponsor

(all members of the school faculty), to the audience (comprised of students and community representatives),and to the initiates. As a result of his initiation, those to whom he initiated made certain responses. Of particular interest is the point that the master of ceremonies did not initiate directly to the student representative. This person was not a member of the official platform group, but merely appeared on stage at an appropriate point in the proceedings. The master of ceremonies merely acquiesced in his presence: neither inviting him nor preventing him from playing his role. Such an acquiescence is equivalent to initiation, in terms of Firth's concept of basic compensation. (1951:78) In a very definite sense then, each of these other positions was subordinate to this position.

The pastor, for his part, initiated to everyone present by calling upon them to respond to his actions. His behavior, however, did not differentiate among the various sectors of the assembled personnel. Nor did his initiation last for more than a few minutes. Further, he initiated to the group only once.

The choir mistress, on the other hand, initiated on three occasions, and differentiated her initiations between those members of the student body who were members of the choir, and those who were not. The latter were regarded merely as part of the audience.

A similar position is occupied by the sponsor of the initiates who initiated action toward the initiates and the audience and, indirectly, to the principal. His was indirect

initiation to the principal because his behavior to the initiates, within the sequence of the ritual, resulted in the principal becoming involved.

The principal initiated to the guest speaker, to the initiates, and to the audience in general. By the nature of his remarks, he differentiated the audience into various segments, such as juniors from other students, or faculty members from other adults. In so doing, it may be argued that he sought to differentiate his own status within the structure of the school. This is because by displaying his relations with so many different groups, he also shows that his position is superior to the positions they occupy.

As the student representative was not prevented from initiating action to those present, he initiated to the principal, to his classmates, and to the audience. His classmates were subdivided into those who acted as sub-representatives, and those who were audience. He and his fellow representatives presented tokens of appreciation to the principal, as representative of the entire school, and to the various members of the faculty.

The audience was present to pay homage to the initiates, and, as such, responded to their actions by standing for their entry, by acknowledging their gifts to the school and formal graduation from it. Therefore, their status is lower than that of the initiates. From these various patterns of interaction, it is possible to prepare a synthesis, shown in Figure 3.
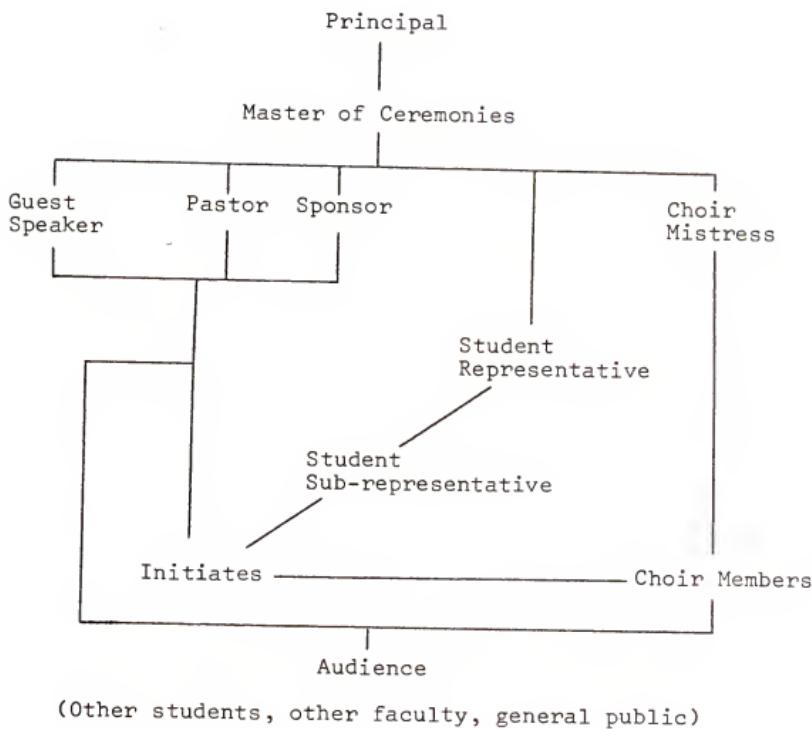
Figure 3. The structure of relations revealed
by the analysis of ceremonial events
sponsored by the faculty.

It may be asked why the principal was accorded such a position within the schema. Firth offers four bases for determining the relative rank of positions: the extent to which a given position has control over the allocation of rights and duties, the range of social recognition accorded the position, the extent to which the occupant of a position has power to resolve a conflict between positions, and the degree of social control exercised by the occupant of the position. (1951:75-79) The status of the principal in the present instance is judged in terms of the second of these principles. It was he to whom the graduating seniors were presented; it was he who received, as the school's representative the student's gift; it was he who introduced to the school the guest speaker, and so incorporated him as a member of the group; and it was he who took pains to identify the several segments of the audience. In terms of time, he spoke for as long a period as did any other member of the school faculty (although not as often as did the master of ceremonies). Hence, although we have no evidence from this ritual sequence of his capacity to resolve conflicts nor of his power to allocate rights and duties, we may presume from the deference shown him, that structurally his is the most important position.

It is of interest to speculate upon the failure of the master of ceremonies to introduce the student representative. It will be noticed from Figure 3 that all formal initiation is from the adult members to the student members of the

assemblage. It is as if, even in ritual, the adult members
are unwilling to extend to the youthful members the right to
initiate action toward the adults. This is, of course, what
we have been led to expect from the theory of set events and
is consonant with the relations which existed between the
janitorial staff and the students. Since such initiation
must take place, it is acquiesced in by default on the part
of those vested with the duties of organizing and controlling
the action. Hence there is exercise of indirect power. It
is significant that it was not resolved by permitting the
set event to become transformed into a pair event. This
raises the question of the extent to which Carver High is
run on authoritarian principles. An answer to that question
must await the presentation of other evidence later in this
chapter.

Those ceremonial set events that were controlled by the
students took on a somewhat similar pattern of ritual. We
find that there was a master of ceremonies, a guest speaker,
a faculty representative, and several other student members
who acted as chaplain, soloist, and sponsor.

As with the faculty sponsored ritual, the role of master
of ceremonies was filled by the occupant of the second highest
position, rather than the highest. It was she who initiated
to the other members of the official party: chaplain,
soloist, sponsor, members of the council executive, guest
speaker, sponsor adviser, school principal, and the audience.

The chaplain initiated action to all of those present without distinguishing among the various segments. So too did the soloist.

The sponsor was a regular member of the council executive. He merely introduced the retiring president of the student council. She then addressed those assembled, making passing reference to the gradations of rank among those present, but merely by name: "The principal, the vice-principal, members of the audience," "Your newly elected officers" and so on. None of these groups was required to respond to her initiation except as members of the audience. This is in contrast to the initiation of the principal who requested that the groups he differentiated respond to him.

The guest speaker was introduced by the master of ceremonies. He then initiated to each committee member in turn, by requiring them to take the oath of office, and acquire the symbols of their office. He also initiated to the audience by requiring them to pledge allegiance to the newly installed executive and by making a speech to them.

Finally, we note that the principal and the student council advisor were both invited to participate in the ritual by the master of ceremonies. Neither was a member of the official party, however. The principal differentiated among the president of the council, the remainder of the executive committee, and the audience. The advisor, however, merely distinguished between the executive as a whole and the audience. In the light of the suggestion above that we need to seek

further evidence to determine the degree to which the school is authoritarian, we note that the master of ceremonies invited the faculty representative to speak, and incorporated this step within the formal program. We do not know to what extent the program was prepared at her initiative.

We do know, however, the use which the faculty representatives made of their opportunity to appear. In both instances appropriate congratulatory remarks were made to the retiring executive and to the newly installed one. But also, in each case, remarks were made to the student body concerning the council which could well have been made by, for example, the secretary. Thus, there were announcements concerning the sale of cookies as a fund raising project, a forthcoming student council dance, and the role of student identification cards. Even more indicative, however, was the presentation to the principal of an Honor Board showing the names of previous executive officers of the student council. This presentation was made by the advisor, on behalf of the council to the school. These instances are by no means definitive evidence for or against authoritarianism but are, nevertheless, a further indication that such a condition might exist.

It is instructive to compare the levels of differentiation for both faculty and students depicted in Figure 3 with those obtainable in the present set of rituals, as shown in Figure 4. It will be noted immediately that the relationships when the students act as officiants is less
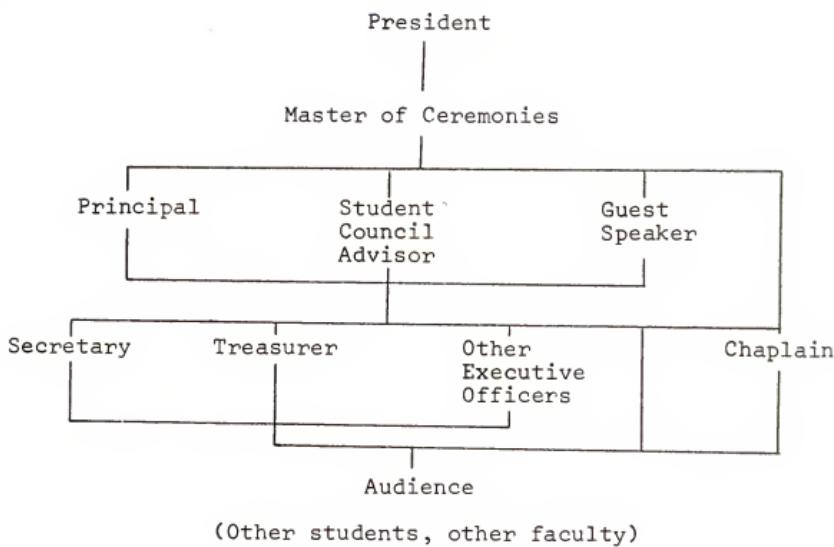
Figure 4. The structure of relations revealed by the analysis of ceremonial events sponsored by the students.

complex than when the faculty do. Thus the vice-president of the council, acting as master of ceremonies, initiates directly to the three adult participants, as well as to the retiring and inducted presidents and other executive members, including the chaplain. On the other hand, the other student participants all initiate to the audience only, in which they incorporate their peers from the executive. They do not attempt to differentiate gradations of rank within themselves.

Within the context of these ceremonies it is particularly significant that the president did not initiate to the vice-president. The only way in which the president was accorded the recognition becoming her position was in being invited to address the school. From other events, such as the Careers Information Assembly, or Student Government Day, we can observe that the president did act as the sole representative of the student body, and so is in fact relatively more important than the vice-president, as one would expect.

The suggestion that these ceremonies offer is that the faculty are more likely than students to differentiate personnel into status grades. When we look at the formal definition of positions we find that this is not so. For the faculty, the situation is shown in Figure 5, while for the students, our main concern, it is shown in Figure 6. From these figures we are readily able to perceive that in each case there are five levels or grades within the hierarchy.
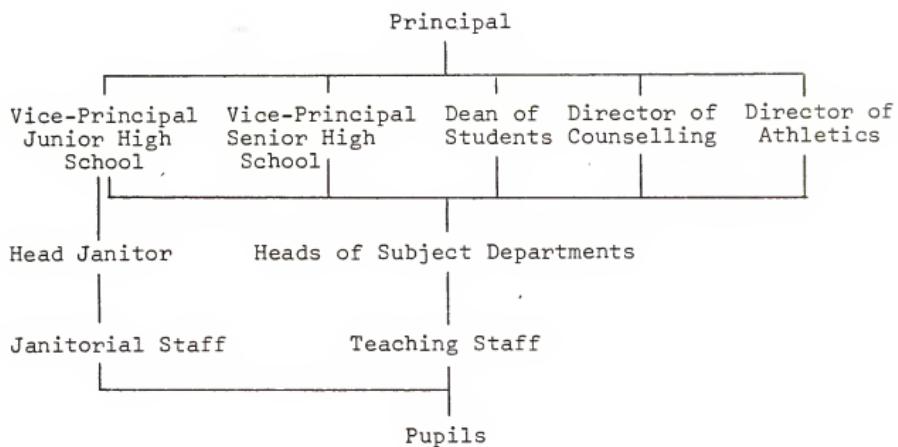
Figure 5. The structure of relations
revealed by daily work.
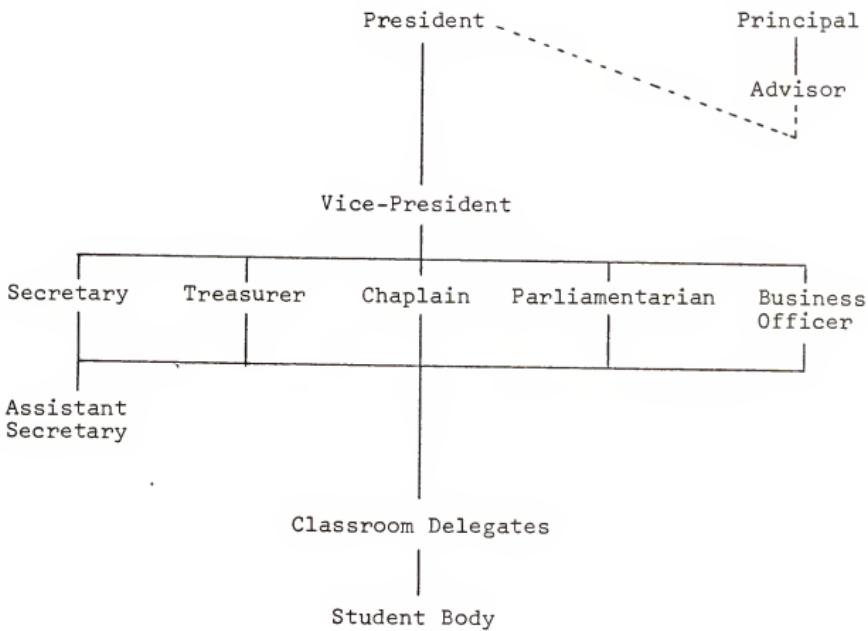
Figure 6. The structure of relations revealed by the formal description of the Student Council.

When we combine the two, as in the situation exemplified in Figure 7, for an ideal class meeting, we find that there are seven levels: the uppermost four being those of the faculty and the lower three encompassing the student positions.

However, the information in Figure 5 makes an assumption which has not yet been justified by the data. Hence we must now ask: Is the faculty, in fact, dominant and authoritarian with respect to the students?

There are three types of set events to which reference has not yet been made: the ordinary classroom meetings, the athletic events, and the nonceremonial events held during the evening. The classroom situation does not offer much scope for variation. Almost by definition, it implies that the teacher initiates to students in a situation in which the expertise of the former is contrasted with the naivety of the latter so that dominance-submission is the norm. That has been found to be the case even in situations where teacher-pupil relations are egalitarian in other areas. Thus Burnett found the classroom situation to be marked by teacher dominance, yet also found that students were free to choose their own sponsors and advisors in other areas of activity and were fairly free to ignore their advice if they so decided. (1964:136-137) There are many points of similarity between the athletic events and the ordinary classroom, in that the coach is imparting knowledge to the athletes during practice, and, from the bench during games, continues to do so.

Principal

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Vice-Principal
Senior High School

|

Coordinating Sponsor

|

Section Sponsor

|

Class President

|

Class Executive Committees

|

Class Members
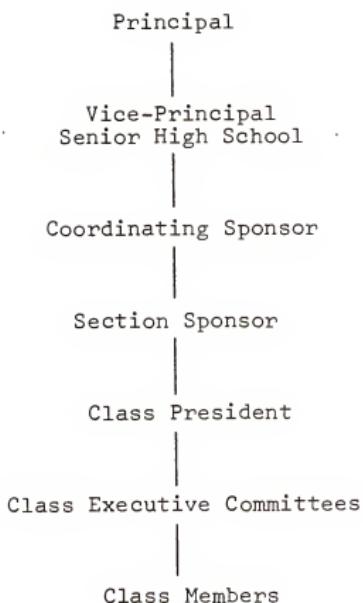
Figure 7. The structure of relations revealed
by the formal description of the
Senior Class Homeroom.

Therefore we shall take the position that the nonceremonial events held during free time will be those most likely to reveal the actual relationship between faculty and students. These events provided entertainment, and in return, reaped financial gain for the organizers. Many of the events were run by the senior class, with the intent of raising funds for their class gift, senior trip, and the expenses related to their graduation. The prestige and pleasure of the class were at stake, since the more money that was raised, the more expensive could be their gift, and the more money that would be available for their senior trip. We might expect, consequently, that the group would take the initiative in suggesting possible enter-tainments.

This, however, was not the case. Both students and sponsors readily admitted that all initiative was taken by the sponsors in: suggesting the type of entertainment, setting its date, nominating those students who were to participate, and in requesting the aid and participation of other adults. Even further, once an event was decided upon between the sponsors and the students, the decision making formula was heavily in favor of faculty control, for forms setting out the relevant information had to be sent to the school's office, where the dean of students gave or withheld final approval for the events.

Other incidents confirm the tenor of this observation. Although class meetings were supposed to be held once each

month, on a set day at a set time, prior approval had to be obtained, and was withheld as often as it was granted.* In further contrast to the situation reported by Burnett, we may note that Carver students were given no choice concerning either the homeroom sponsors or the sponsors of their extracurricular activities. Hence, we have ample evidence upon which to base the conclusion that the faculty-student relations at Carver High were based predominately on that of faculty dominance and student submission.

Social Organization

Firth has distinguished between the social structure of a group and what he terms its social organization. In the previous section we discussed the social structure of Carver High as revealed in ceremonial events and saw that it was highly similar to that expected from an examination of the formal positions that existed. However, even in ceremony, the formal relations to be expected from an abstract definition of the positions did not appear without some modification. It is to these adaptations of the ideal relations that Firth refers when he discusses social organization. (1951:35-40)

It would seem that there are at least four major factors which lead the occupants of role positions to adapt

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*I do not wish to impute that the reasons for withholding approval for events or class meetings were unsound or arbitrary. The intention is merely to demonstrate that the faculty did exercise its power of regulating activities ostensibly controlled by the students.

the theoretical structure. These are the features of the behavior setting, what Firth discusses as the status of the participants (1951:75-80), what he terms 'economy of effort' (1951"80-82), and the view that the actors themselves have of their situation: their world view.

In order to discuss these principles, we shall draw our illustrations from three types of regular school activity: the homeroom period for the senior class, the extracurricular activity program, and the student council meetings. The first of these types of events occurred daily, the second weekly, and the third at irregular intervals during the year.

Senior Class Homeroom and Class Meetings

Homerooms were signalled by the siren ending first period, at 8:21 a.m. Since about a third of the school did not attend this class, this third was waiting either in the auditorium or outside the school, or, for a relatively small number (say about fifty), in the corridors near the entrances. At the bell, the approximately 1,600 pupils had to move from their classrooms or other points of waiting, to their respective homerooms. As at every period change, they had four minutes in which to do this. At 8:25 a.m. all persons were supposed to be in a classroom. In fact, rarely were 50 percent of the 160 seniors in the auditorium by that time. It was usually 8:30 a.m., or five minutes after the scheduled time for the period to begin, before

approximately 80 percent were present. Routine was such that at 8:30 a.m., a record of the national anthem was played, and followed by daily announcements. If these were of a more than routine nature, they were prefaced by a request for teachers to bring into the classroom any student still in the halls--an explicit recognition that lateness was common.

The question that concerns us is why were so many pupils late so often: for it was observed that students were late after every period change of every day. There seem to be two major features. The sheer number of students who had to make their way along the corridors was such that speedy movement was impossible. A corrolary of this is that students who needed to open their lockers had difficulty in so doing during the time that the halls were most busy, for lockers were located in the center of the halls, and to open them and stand at them was difficult because of those pressing past, and, once accomplished, further restricted the already narrow passageway. To combine two principles: the behavior setting of the halls was such that it required less effort if one delayed opening one's locker until the surge of students was past.

The second major reason was that period change was the only 'free' time the students officially had at their disposal. Hence, acquaintances and friends who encountered each other in the halls at this time would pause to talk.

Give the congestion, even thirty seconds of such talk would be sufficient to make the student late for his class.

Within the auditorium, the venue for the senior class homeroom, and which the writer observed on many occasions during the school year, it was also the pattern for the five sponsors to arrive with varying degrees of lateness. In part, this was because they too had to make their way through the student filled hallways. Furthermore, they taught during the periods before and after homeroom, and had necessary chores with regard to their lessons (especially since they were inevitably late arriving back at their classroom at the end of the homeroom period).

This leads us to a further observation: the first five minutes of the homeroom period were inevitably wasted. As one youthful observer noted: "You look. There's not a person standing around the walls and everyone's quiet. By the time [the sponsors] get here, everyone will be walking about and talking." He was speaking at 8:25 a.m., the scheduled time for the period to begin, and referring to 8:30 a.m., its actual time of commencing. His prediction was correct, and could have been made on any day of the year.

Hence the first piece of business of a homeroom period was to obtain sufficient silence and order for other business to be conducted. The auditorium as a behavior setting offers an explanation of why this might have been so: acoustics in the auditorium were, at best, difficult.

There were two public address systems available: one
built in to the room, but which was cumbersome to set up,
and which appeared to suffer from unreliability (as if the
wiring were loose). This system, when working, was efficient.
However, it usually required much time and effort to make
ready. Therefore, a small, portable set was most frequently
used. However, the output from it was very difficult to
hear. Thus the choices before the sponsor were three:
spend several minutes readying the main system, use the
portable system with its limitations, or merely shout. In
practice the result, regardless of the alternative chosen,
was that about five minutes were spent in gaining attention.

The reader will immediately wonder why the sponsor
was not 'respected' enough to obtain attention, more or
less automatically. The difficulties of making oneself
heard, were compounded by other features of the homeroom
situation. To fully understand these we need to recall that
the students were arranged in sections. In the case of the
seniors there were five of these. It was necessary for
certain matters, for instance roll check, that the students
sit in their own section. Therefore, the students were
spread across the whole of the auditorium, and were not in
a compact group.

Besides roll check, the sections raised their own
share of money for the senior class funds, so that it was
necessary for the section sponsors to discuss money raising
projects with their particular group. Thus, instead of the

senior class staging the Mock Wedding, this was an effort of
Section C of the senior class. Section D raised its share
of the finances by selling candy. The result of this
differentiation was that Section C, for example, might be
discussing a project with their sponsor, and Section B, on
the other hand, have nothing to do. So, Section B members
would begin to talk. In this way, both of these groups
(who are used merely as examples) would be engrossed in
their own activity, and literally not hear any call for
attention by the coordinator.

The differentiation into sections had another effect,
resulting from the changed composition of the sections. The
sections were formed alphabetically: 170 seniors amounted
to five sections of approximately thirty-four persons each:
start with Aakman and count off thirty-four people. This
system was introduced only in the year of the study. Hence
friendships that had developed through association in
previous years were now sundered by an administrative fiat.
If you are sitting in an auditorium, and you have nothing to
do, what is more likely to occur than that you will go and
talk with your friend? These seniors did just that--so
that a variable number of students were always in 'wrong'
parts of the auditorium, talking with friends.

The students also learned not to heed the public
address system because many of the announcements that it
carried did not concern them. This generalization applied
to both the general announcements from the main office, and

to announcements by the coordinating sponsor. For example, the former frequently contained items such as 'send these students to the office'--followed by a list of usually between two and twenty names. In a school of 1,600, this meant that the chances of 'me' being concerned were minimal. Therefore, why listen? Another frequent type of message was that of the 'building representive' to the faculty members themselves, an announcement that 'told' the students that they need not listen. For an example of the latter, the coordinator frequently addressed his own section over the public address system. Since the business of his section did not concern the other four, they had to learn to ignore some of the information that he conveyed to the entire group.

As a final reason, there is the fact that frequently there was no business at all in the homeroom, besides roll check. Frequently, therefore, the students were at liberty to talk, or walk and visit with their friends without any protestation from the sponsors. What does this mean from an organizational view point? In theory, the senior class homeroom was structured as in Figure 7. In practice, the situation became that shown in Figures 8 and 9.

To highlight the effects of the behavior setting upon the facility with which the senior class meetings were held, we need to heed one of the meetings held elsewhere--in this case, the gymnasium. As one might expect, acoustics in the gymnasium were not good, yet an excellent meeting was held.
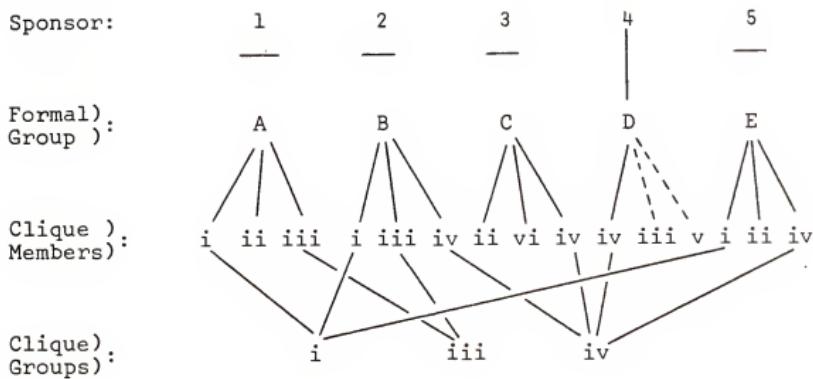
Figure 8. The organization of relations revealed by the daily activity of the senior class homeroom when functioning in sections.
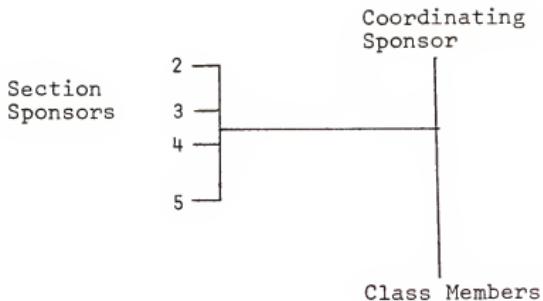
Figure 9. The organization of relations revealed
    by the daily activity of the senior class
        homeroom when functioning as a unity.

The principal factors involved appear to have been two. Firstly, the students arrived and sat in friendship patterns. One would have expected that this would result in more talking than usual. This was so, but it was countered by the second feature. The students sat in a compact group upon the spectator stands. The class president stood on the floor with the portable public address system. As the audience was against a wall the sound made by the public address system was 'held' by the wall, where the listeners were, instead of being able to pass over them and dissipate as it did in the auditorium. Hence the president could be heard. At the same time he could see--and identify--each person. If one of the talkers became too disruptive, he was named. In effect, the friendship groups themselves helped maintain discipline since the three or four friends of 'Bill' knew that if he was identified then they too shared some of the blame in the eyes of their classmates.

As seniors, there were only three types of occasions when this group initiated to the school. These were: as entertainers, when they sponsored events such as the Mock Wedding, or the Senior Play; as salesmen when they preferred candy and toothbrushes or cool drinks; and as the star performers in the graduation ceremonies. Another of the complaints to the researcher, and which helps explain much of their disruptive behavior, was that they were offered no recognition. They were grouped with students from the sophomore and junior classes during lessons, they were bound

by the same rules and regulations as everyone else, they had no senior lounge and they had no more opportunity to initiate to the faculty than any other class. The set events in which they initiated to the remainder of the school were different only in detail from those in which the other classes initiated to the school. If the seniors staged the Mock Wedding, the juniors ran a Talent Show; if the seniors sold candy, so did every class in the school sell something. Their graduation ceremonies came as they were departing from the scene, and during the year their anticipated nature was of small consolation. Hence one can suggest that as they lacked structured ways in which to gain prestige, they adopted an organizational one to achieve notoriety. They were late for class, they were noisy in the corridors, they stood in clique groups at the intersection so that people had to walk round them.

Extracurricular Activities

At Carver High activity groups were scheduled to meet once a fortnight on alternate weeks, so that on any one activity day half of the groups were meeting. During the year the observer was able to attend meetings of half of the clubs of the senior high school. In only one of those that he observed was the formal structure of the activity implemented in practice. In this particular situation, the members had available a duplicated guide for the conduct

of meetings, which included a ritualized opening ceremony. This guide was followed closely.

All other activity groups that were observed were marked by domination of the activity by the sponsor, either directly or indirectly through the president. In at least one activity group the students, when questioned, did not know whether there was a president, and maintained that they did not conduct meetings--they merely did whatever was requested by the teacher. Many of these groups, on many occasions, had little directed and purposeful activity for their members. As a result, talk and to a lesser extent 'walking the halls' was common.

The Carver News affords an illustration that in several respects was not untypical. The formal structure consisted of editor, associate editor, business manager, assistant business manager, managing editor, and assisting managing editor, besides photographers, artists, and reporters, all of whom were students, and the sponsor. In practice the only student to address the group was the editor. As it happened, she was a softly spoken lass. The importance of this particular trait becomes evident when we consider the setting for meetings of the Carver News.

Meetings were held in the commerce room, the major features of which are shown in Figure 10. Early in the year, when the first observations of this group were made, the numbers attending were such that there were insufficient seats for all. Hence members were crowded into corners,
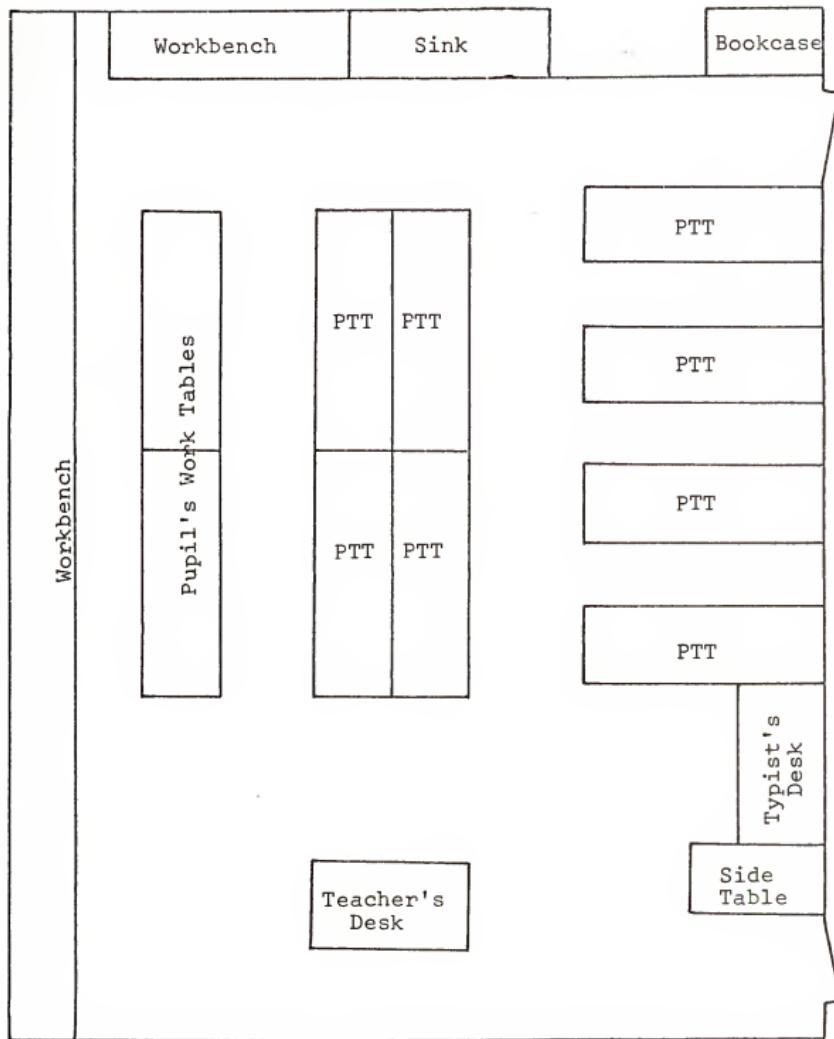
Figure 10. Sketch plan of the Commerce Room, showing
the location of immovable desks and work benches.
Scale 1/4" represents 1 foot, approximately.
PTT: Pupil's Typing Table

were standing in front of others who were seated, were
seated with their backs to the editor (and would have been,
regardless of where she might have stood). Literally,
almost every square foot of space was occupied by some
person.

Who were these people? There were three specific
groups at these early meetings: there were the senior
commerce students, there were the junior typing students
and there were a few other students who were merely inter-
ested in the Carver News as an activity. Observation of
the group revealed that most boys interacted only with
boys, and most girls interacted only with girls. Further,
several boys interacted only occasionally with others.
Some boys interacted with girls. It later became apparent
that these groups were stable, and that the monosexual
groupings were divided between juniors and seniors,
reflecting that seniors and juniors had their own separate
classes.

As would be expected from the individualistic nature
of the students, the relational pattern failed to reveal
a hierarchy of leaders and followers. Thus the membership
consisted of those with a habitual way of interacting
among themselves, a way which did not include submission
to a peer, but did include clique relations. Hence, the
clique members tended to sit together, and to talk with
one another. In this they were abetted by the ecology of
their environment and the trait of soft spokenness possessed

by their elected leader. Thus, their sponsor was required to call the group to order, and to exert her influence in order to maintain it.

The behavior setting had a further effect: it was impossible for the members to work during club meetings, since there was insufficient space. Hence decisions came to be made during class time, and the work of typing copy came to be done at this time also. Once this happened, it was almost inevitable that the demarcation between activity groups and class became difficult to maintain, a feature that was heightened by the fact that the senior commerce students were taught commerce in a two period block during the afternoons. Activity period came after the first of these: so that their timetable showed:

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Lunch-Study Hall
Period 5:  Commerce
Activity Period
Period 6:  Commerce
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Thus, we see that given the features of the behavior setting and the individualistic nature of the students, it was almost inevitable that it would require less effort for the sponsor to dominate the activity to the group than to make it operate as a student led organization.

Were there occasions when these clubs initiated to the entire school? The answer is yes. Some clubs sponsored entertainment, others sold cookies, others sold news. Some of the entertainment offered by the clubs was free, as when the Modern Dance Club or the Chorus performed during Cultural Enrichment Week. Other entertainment was designed

to raise money, as when gymnasium dances were held. The
Carver News was sold at a price designed to cover costs,
with a very small margin of profit. Again, however, we
notice that many of these set events were similar to those
in which the year-classes also initiated to the school.

Student Council Meetings

An analysis of the student council will provide a
final example of the school's social organization. Usually
student council meetings were held during the mornings in
the lunchroom. Frequently, they followed the homeroom
period. There were two immediate consequences of this
timing and location. At that time of the day, the kitchen
staff were beginning work. Usually they were unpacking
their boilers and saucepans and ladles to begin the
preparation of lunch. The clatter was inevitable, but not
conducive to the conduct of an orderly meeting. The
executive officers of the student council were, with one
exception, seniors. For the reasons given above, senior
homeroom often ended late. Consequently, the executive
officers of the student council arrived at their meeting late.

As a consequence of these two factors, it was often
decided to eliminate the nonessential aspects of the
council meetings. When conducted in full, the order of
events was as set out in Table 3 but more often than not,
it was as set out in Table 4. On one occasion an appropriate
hymn was sung, enabling items 1 and 2 to be combined and the
program to be shortened still further.

TABLE 3

THE OFFICIAL ORDER FOR THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS
DURING MEETINGS OF THE STUDENT COUNCIL

1.	Call to order by the president.
2.	Patriotic song led by the vice-president.
3.	Prayer led by the chaplain.
4.	Minutes of the previous meeting read by the secretary.
5.	General business introduced by the president.
6.	General business introduced by the sponsor.
7.	General business introduced by members.
8.	Close by the president.

TABLE 4

THE ACTUAL ORDER IN WHICH BUSINESS WAS CONDUCTED
DURING MEETINGS OF THE STUDENT COUNCIL

1.	Patriotic song led by the vice-president.
2.	Prayer led by the chaplain.
3.	Executive decisions stated by the president.
4.	Address by the sponsor.
5.	Close by the president.

From the viewpoint of social organization the important point to note is that although the student council executive committee contained many positions, only four of these were ever utilized: the president, who chaired all meetings, the vice-president who introduced the patriotic song, the chaplain who led the devotional service, and the secretary who attempted to record the essence of the meeting. In none of the meetings that were attended was the treasurer, or the business officer or the parliamentarian called upon. Rarely was there opportunity for more than token opportunity for class delegates to raise matters. Never was there a discussion of the financial standing of the council. Usually the participation of the delegates was limited to responding to matters raised by either the president or the faculty advisor. The latter usually addressed the council for at least a third, and often more, of the total time available.

The resulting social organization was that all initiation came from the sponsor to the president who then informed the council members. Hence the elaborate social structure depicted in Figure 6, became greatly simplified at the level of actual organization. This situation prevailed for senior homeroom, for many of the extracurricular activity groups, and for the student council.

The council was the apparent initiator to the whole school on a variety of occasions: as sponsor of the student identification cards; as seller of cookies, or shakers, or

cool drinks; as sponsor of Miss Carver and the elections needed to fill both that position and those of the council's own executive committee; and as sponsor of Student Government Day and the Green and Gold Dance which followed in the evening.

Relationships based on Sex and Status

There remain two sets of relationships that have not been touched upon, and which are usually of importance in the structure of interpersonal relations. These are those of sex and status.

Male-female relations were marked by a high degree of equality. It was observed that boys initiated to girls, and that girls initiated to boys. In the senior class homeroom, seating when not within sections was usually in terms of clique groupings. However, membership in cliques was limited to about half of the boys, and to about three-quarters of the girls. The students who were not clique members sat either alone, or with a friend. If the latter was the case, the friend might be of either sex. In the period before school, this same pattern was observed to prevail.

However, one of the characteristic features of Carver High was the predominance of girls who were elected to public office. Thus, the student council had only two males on the executive committee—one of whom rarely attended meetings, and the other of whom was rarely called upon to exercise any responsibility. The president, vice-president, secretary and chaplain were all girls. In the senior class, only the

president and vice-president were males--and the observer did not observe the vice-president perform any official set act all during the year. All committees were under the leadership of girls.

Among the activity groups, the situation was superficially less clear-cut, for some were more oriented to boys than girls, and vice versa. However, taking the school as a whole, there were more activity groups for girls. Activity groups for girls had more members than did those for boys, and in those for both sexes, it was more common for girls to fill the official positions than boys. It has often been suggested that the availability of the athletic program for boys, without a comparable one for girls, enables the male student to gain his status on the athletic field, whereas the female is forced to seek her prestige in other ways. This was certainly the theme expressed by the students in their conversations, and there was certainly no athletic program for girls. Yet the pattern of female leadership, so far as the student council is concerned, is comparatively recent, for school records show male presidents until two years prior to the present study.

Pertinent evidence to support the popular view can be obtained from an examination of the cliques of the senior class. There were four clearly defined cliques among the boys, and five among the girls. In the case of the boys, the leading clique was composed of the star athletes. Each of the other cliques, however, had members who participated in

the school sporting teams. These athletes occasionally associated with the athletic clique. The reverse was not observed. This offers support for the view that the focus for the boys activities was the athletic program.

On the other hand, the leading girls' clique was composed of eight or nine girls who were always neatly dressed and behaved with decorum. They were among the better scholars, but could not be considered 'grinds.' The ties linking them to the other cliques were less clear-cut than in the case of the boys. While none of them were office holders either within the senior class or the student council, such office holders did have individual members of this clique as fairly close friends. It is significant that the girls more interested in fun, and who included the school queen, were not members of the leading clique. It was the fun clique who tended to associate more with the athletes. Hence it does appear that there is a sex related division of activity within the student body.

Another form of status within a school is the year-class system of senior, junior and so on down to grade 7. It will be recalled, from Chapter II, that although Carver was a six-year high school, it was really organized on a 2-1-3 basis. It will also be recalled that in many lessons students from grades 10, 11, and 12 were combined. Thus we can generalize and say that seniority lines were blurred and that being a senior did not automatically confer status upon the individual. Such an absence of clear-cut status lines was observed in

the requirements for office in the student council. There had been no restriction upon the class status of any member of the council executive. Nor had there been for Miss Carver. During the year of observation, a new regulation was adopted that these office holders must be either juniors or seniors. This regulation merely reflected practice in recent years, which had seen that juniors held such positions. But it is also indicative of the fact that the students recognized that senior classmen were accorded no more deference than a freshman. This can be seen as an attempt on their part to do something about it.

In her study, Burnett refers to the set event formed by the reactions between voter and representative. (1964:134-136) This set also existed at Carver. The elections were always held for four categories of representatives: by the year-class of their executive, by the activity groups of their officants, by the class sections of their delegates to the student council, and by the entire school of the student council executive. However, these positions were regarded as chores, which no one really wished to fill. As a result, once the election was over, so far as the voters were concerned, that was the end of it. Only in a minority of cases was this followed by a recurring set event, as would be expected if, for example, council delegates were required to report to their homeroom sections. So far as the observer was able to ascertain council delegates did not report to their homerooms. At the year-class level, only the

senior class functioned as a single unit. Hence such
potential as theoretically existed, failed to emerge in
practice.

The Relational System

We have noted that there were occasions when each of
the groups within the school initiated to the entire school.
The types of occasion fall into three categories: political,
as for the election of student council officers; entertain-
ment, as for the sponsoring of spectacles such as ballet;
and economic, as in the sale of items. Some events combined
both the economic and the entertainment facets when they
sold entertainment.

Each type of group, at some stage of the year, was
engaged in economic enterprises. The money so raised was
for the benefit of the organization that raised it and was
used primarily to foster 'fun': a trip, a dance, or a dinner.
It was also used by the seniors to meet their class obliga-
tions, such as the class gift and the honoraria for their
speakers. The student council used its funds for the
provision of 'services': student government day, school
picnic, student identification cards, rather than for fun.

Who coordinated these projects? Was it the student
council, as the organ of student government? Was it the
senior class, as the one most involved? It was neither, but
rather the faculty. Even the student council had to apply
for permission to conduct an event in just the same manner
as the smallest and newest activity group of the grade 7 class.

The most obvious effect of this was that the functions of the student council were limited to its service functions within the school itself. As we shall later document, the students were reluctant to implement projects within the school. When this feature is combined with the failure of the student council to conduct events leading to fun, we can appreciate why the projects available to it were ones of limited appeal to the students. As a result its official positions were held in low esteem.

Another effect was that the officers of the student council initiated by right only within the framework of the council itself. As we shall document later, it was the sponsors who set the date for the council elections, and the assemblies which initiated and terminated the period of the campaign. Thus, although it may have been the president's right to initiate to the entire student body during these assemblies, it was the faculty who said when they could be held. The president's participation in other assemblies was even more directly at the discretion of the faculty. Thus, what was, in theory, a prestigious position became in practice, equivalent to the presidency of any other club. In fact, it was perhaps even less prestigious: clubs were scheduled to meet once a fortnight, but the council had no such regularity for its meetings, which were called at the whim of the sponsor.

Let us compare this office with that of the president of the senior class, a position occupied by a male. It

could be predicted that this would be a position which
would give its occupant opportunity to appear before, not
merely the school, but the public at a very important time:
graduation. The council president could only be certain
of a chance to appear before her student peers. Furthermore,
the class president would have the opportunity to influence
the opinion of his peers in the raising and spending of
considerable amounts of money, for he could expect to be
consulted (even if not always heeded) in such matters as
the choice of guest speaker, dress for graduation, class
gift, and the venue for the senior trip. These were matters
involving the manner in which his class would appear at
graduation, and also involving the good fun its members
would have together raising the money and spending it on the
trip. The differences in the importance of the two positions
should be obvious.* Hence the previous explanation in terms
of sex related activity patterns does not appear to account
for all of the facts.

However, although the senior class president had many
opportunities to initiate to his class, he could initiate
to them only. His was a position within a set event for
only that one set, for what was lacking was any point from
which tangential relations with other student groups could
be established. The same, of course, applied to the student
council president, or to any other group. Since the faculty

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*It is interesting to note that in the year of observation
the president of the junior class was a girl. As the senior
class the following year they elected a boy.

coordinated activities, it was impossible for the students to coordinate the activity groups in any formal manner. What developed, instead, were tangential relations between the club and the subject lesson, with the sponsoring teacher as the point of tangency. Thus the Carver News was in tangency with the commerce class, since the sponsor of one was the teacher of the other. It was not in tangency with the student council, because there was nothing to which both shared a common relationship.

As there was no coordinating group, this also meant that there was little need for intermediate positions between the initiator and the responder. Additionally, the person who is dominant in one setting does not learn such an intermediate role in another. Thus set events involving students became ones with only two statuses. As the roles that one occupied were frequently reversed, permanently differentiated statuses within the student body became untenable. Further, not having to learn to play intermediate roles resulted in the individualism which marked their subculture not becoming more egalitarian. This was so because the students did not have to subordinate their own interests to those of their peers. This was so for both individuals and groups. An example occurred during a meeting of an activity group. It was suggested that a dance be held. One of the members advised that another group was planning a dance for the same night. Despite this, the plans were still made--for the dean would resolve the conflict. By contrast, wherever they

are within the school the principal and the several deans retain their relative statuses with respect to each other and to the other positions within the school. Thus there is a more clearly differentiated status system within the faculty organization.

Finally, since the activity groups were tangential to lessons rather than to each other, and because some of them did not engage in pursuits of major importance to the students, the membership became disinterested and unwilling to challenge the sponsor's dominance.

There are probably two other factors related to the observed dominance by some of the faculty of the extra-curriculum. As we noticed in the material pertaining to the student council meeting, the conditions of the lunchroom as a behavior setting for this activity were such that it was far simpler, if one wished to accomplish anything at all, to adopt a dominant approach, than to introduce a democratic one. The latter, it was noted, was difficult to sustain, when adopted, because the background noise prevented members hearing those delegates too far from the speaker. In the Carver News meeting, if order was to be maintained, the sponsor had to assert herself. Hence it was easier to be dominant continuously and keep control, than relax and have to exert much effort to regain control. Thus we see a manifestation of Firth's principle of economy of effort resulting from the features of the behavior setting.

Firth's principle of status involvement is also applicable to the social organization of the school. From the literature available concerning the Negro American, we know that a majority of the Negro Americans are of equivalent status. Some of the teachers who belong to this subculture are probably sensitive to this, and consequently are reluctant to adopt a role within the school which changes their status of superiority into something else. Hence they prefer to preserve the dominant role which was customary within the regular lesson. On the other hand, some white teachers also maintained a dominant position within the context of the extracurriculum. In this case, there is the possibility that interracial attitudes were at least unconsciously responsible for the reluctance to adopt a more democratic approach. In either case, the sociological principle is that of status involvement.

Thus, from an analysis of actual events we have discovered not only the organization of the student system, as distinct from its structure, but also an explanation of why these adaptations occurred.

Summary

The structure of relations was examined in the context of ceremonial and regular events. From the ceremonial events, it was possible to formulate a differentiated structure in which the hierarchy consisted of seven levels, or grades. Four of these were occupied by faculty members,

and three of them by the students. From regular events of
the school day, but still within the context of the extra-
curriculum, it was found that the student organization
consisted usually of only two status levels. The superior
position was usually filled by a person who first volunteered
for the position, and was later elected. It was shown that
the majority of these leadership positions were filled by
female students if the position was open to both males and
females.

Further analysis revealed that the set events in which
the different types of extracurricular activities initiated
to the entire school were of three types: entertainment,
fund raising, and service. The student council offered
mainly services, such as sponsoring the student identifica-
tion cards. The council was found to be subject to the same
controls by the faculty as was any other club or class. It
became apparent that the faculty dominated all student
organizations. It was further found that the extracurricular
activities were tangential not to other clubs, but to
classroom lessons. It was shown that such a condition, when
coupled with unfavorable behavior settings and a program of
activities that were of marginal interest to the students,
fostered teacher dominance of the activity program.

It was also suggested (working from within the context
of the literature) that since the faculty are members of a
subculture in which most persons occupy a similar status they
may be reluctant to lay their higher statuses aside when they

are within the context of the extracurricular program. For other faculty members, those who were white, interracial attitudes were suggested as having a similar result: the preservation of one's status.

The behavior settings of the school were especially conducive to the operation of Firth's principle of 'economy of effort,' in that difficult conditions of operation resulted in a willingness, and often even a necessity, to do what was easiest rather than what one ideally ought do. This was particularly noticeable in the conduct of student council meetings.

By contrasting the relative power exercised by the student council president and the senior class president, it was clearly shown that the former had fewer opportunities for public recognition and exercised power over fewer people, much less often and with respect to less important matters than did the class president. It was concluded that this was the reason that male students did not offer themselves for this office.

CHAPTER IV

THE DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF CEREMONIAL EVENTS

In her study of a small high school in the Middle West, Burnett found evidence for a set of ceremonies which served to give rhythm and pattern to the culture of the school. (1964:220-270) We shall assume that Carver High School also has ceremonies that serve as Rites of Intensification and as Rites of Passage. The first section of the chapter shall be devoted to analyzing the events in order to identify those which serve as ceremonies. This section will end with a brief statement of the purpose of the Rites of Intensification in this school. The second section will provide a description of the Rites of Passage, with the object of identifying those elements which the personnel of the ceremonies consider important enough to include in them. The final section of the chapter will offer an interpretation of these ceremonies, and introduce us to some aspects of the student culture of Carver High School.

Rites of Intensification

Assemblies Held During the School Day

Table 5 shows the total number of occasions when Carver High School assembled during school hours.[*] It also shows three other features of those assemblies: their sponsor, their purpose, and whether or not the principal participated in them. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of this table is the limited number of such assemblies.

Rites of Intensification, it will be recalled, serve to unite the members of a group, especially after a crisis suffered by the group, and to prepare the members for a change in their patterns of interaction. In the light of this theory, it was noteworthy that there was an absence of assemblies to mark the resumption of school after vacations, or for Easter or Thanksgiving, or in response to the crisis caused by the state-wide teachers' strike. Only one assembly occurred at a time that could have been predicted from the theory of Rites of Intensification. This was the Christmas concert held the day that school closed for the winter vacation. From Table 5, we can note that it was the only assembly which was designed to entertain. One interpretation of this event is that it served to disrupt the regular school routine and to transform the atmosphere from work to one of relaxation.

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[*]For a brief description of these and other related events, the reader is referred to Appendix 1.

TABLE 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ASSEMBLIES HELD DURING SCHOOL HOURS AT CARVER HIGH SCHOOL

Descriptive Title	Sponsor	Purpose	Participation by Principal	Ritual Component
Christmas Assembly	Music Dept.	Entertain	No	No
Careers Information Assembly	Counselling Dept.	Educate	No	Yes
Vocational Assembly	Counselling Dept.	Educate	No	Yes
Television Coverage of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Funeral	School	Public Interest	Yes	No
Hi Y Assembly	Athletic Dept.	Extracurriculum	No	No
Enrichment Assemblies	School	Enrichment	No	No
Athletic Assembly	Athletic Dept.	Morale	Yes	Yes
Student-Faculty Basketball Games	Scholarship Committee	Scholarship Funds	Yes	No
Campaign Assembly	Student Council	Introduce Candidates	Yes	No
Inauguration Assembly	Student Council	Install Officers	Yes	Yes
Senior Awards Day Assembly	School	Reward Students	Yes	Yes

What were the other characteristics of these assemblies? Firstly, most of them were attended by pupils only. The only exception was the Senior Awards Day Assembly, when certificates, medals, and scholarships were awarded to members of the senior class.

The purpose of most of these daytime events was closely and directly related to the running of the school. The two assemblies held during Careers Week occurred immediately prior to the students being asked to choose their courses for the following year. Their administrative nature was emphasized when the Vocational Assembly was designated specifically for grades 9, 10, and 11 only. Yet the program featured a skit entitled "The Interview" which dealt with the appropriate and inappropriate ways to apply for employment--something most appropriate for the senior class.[*] Another similarly administratively oriented gathering was the Campaign Assembly to introduce to the students the candidates for the student council elections. So too was the assembly for boys only sponsored by the athletic department in an attempt to introduce a Hi Y Club as an additional offering of the extracurriculum.

Another set of events for which the school assembled during the day were the cultural enrichment programs. There were several of these and they included a concert by a

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[*]The seniors attended en masse!

visiting school band, performances by the school's own modern dance and drama clubs, as well as a joint concert by the school choir and band.

To the careful observer, there was a subtle difference between the administrative and enrichment assemblies. The former were sponsored by sections of the school as, for the two cited examples, the counselling division and the student council. The latter, however, were sponsored by the school as a totality. The differences were exemplified by the officiating personnel. The head counsellor officiated at the Careers Information Assembly, while the vice-principal of the senior high school officiated during the enrichment activities.

When we consider the assemblies at which the principal participated, we note that two of them were ceremonies for Rites of Passage. These were the Inauguration Assembly and the Senior Awards Day Assembly. He played for a few minutes only in the faculty versus male students basketball game. In the Campaign Assembly, he spoke briefly, merely wishing each candidate success.

However, he played a major role in the assembly which was held to permit students to watch the television coverage of the funeral service for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Before students left their classrooms to enter the library and auditorium, where the television sets were placed, the principal himself conducted a short memorial service over the public address system. This service consisted of a short

speech of about five minutes duration by the principal, and
was preceded and followed by a spiritual. Later, during
the broadcast, it was the principal who supervised the
departure for lunch of the junior high school pupils. Does
this mean that the funeral was important? The assassination
had had only an indirect effect on the school, for the fear
of rioting had led to the imposition of a curfew in Beach
City. This, in turn, had resulted in the postponement of
a money-raising event.

The remaining ceremony at which the principal
participated was that when the school was addressed by a
Negro American athlete who had won a gold medal at the 1964
Olympic Games. At each session of the assembly this person
was introduced by the principal. This procedure contrasts
with that at the administratively oriented assemblies of
Careers Week. On those occasions the principal did not even
participate.

Of these events both the Inaugural Assembly and the
Awards Day Assembly contained clearly defined ritual.
Elements of ritual did appear in other assemblies, but often
this amounted to little more than a standardized order of
activity: a patriotic song, a prayer, and a statement of
the purpose of the assembly.

Events Held Outside of School Hours

When we look at the events that occurred at night, we
notice that they can be dichotomized between those that were

free, and those for which an admission fee was charged.
(Tables 6 and 7) All entrance fees were designed to raise
money for specific projects. Thus the admission fee for
entry to a ball game went to support the athletic department,
not the general school. Similarly, the Mock Wedding and the
Girls Revue were run by the senior class to raise funds
for their class expenses.

In general, events that charged admission attracted
a younger audience than did events which were free. Thus
the Fashion Show, which might have been expected to attract
women from the community, was attended by only about two
hundred people, of whom about 75 percent were students.
The sponsoring group, the senior class, alone comprised
about half of the audience.

With the exception of sports, the size of the audience
at events for which admission was charged was usually
smaller than it was for free events. Events which charged
for admission all began more than ten minutes late. These
features of the events held to raise funds and to entertain
provide a standard by which to compare the free events held
outside school hours. (Table 7) Some of these latter were
ceremonies.

When we examine the free events held outside regular
school hours one of the distinctive features is the nature
and role of the organizing body. Instead of the organizing
group functioning solely on its own behalf, it sometimes
functioned on behalf of the school in an organizing capacity.

TABLE 6

CHARACTERISTICS OF EVENTS CONDUCTED BY CARVER HIGH SCHOOL
OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL HOURS AND FOR WHICH AN ENTRY FEE WAS CHARGED

Descriptive Title	Sponsor	Audience Size	Audience Characteristic	Punctuality of Event	Punctuality of Audience
Homecoming Game	Athletic Dept.	Very Large	No elderly people	Yes	Yes
Other Football Games	Athletic Dept.	Large	No elderly people	Yes	Yes
Fashion Show	Senior Class	200	Students & women	No	No
Gymnasium Dances	Various Clubs	100	Students	No	No
Mock Wedding	Senior Class	200	Students	No	No
Talent Show	Senior Class	250	Students	No	No
Girls Revue	Junior Class	250	Students & women	No	No
Senior Play	Senior Class	500	Few men	No	No
Jazz Concert I	Senior Class	600	Students	No	No
Jazz Concert II	Junior Class	600	Students	No	No
Basketball Games	Athletic Dept.	1,000	Students	Yes	Yes
Baseball Games	Athletic Dept.	Small	Students	Yes	Yes

TABLE 7

CHARACTERISTICS OF EVENTS CONDUCTED BY CARVER HIGH SCHOOL
OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL HOURS AND WHICH WERE FREE

Descriptive Title	Sponsor	Purpose	Participation of Principal	Audience Size	Audience Characteristics	Punctuality of Event	Punctuality of Audience	Audience Ritual
Coronation of Sweethearts	Student Council	Display	No	400	Students Women	No	No	Yes
Coronation Ball	Student Council	Entertain	No	100	Students	No	No	No
Pep Rally	Athletic Dept.	Morale	No	600	Students	Yes	Yes	No
Homecoming Parade	Athletic Dept.	Morale	No	Large	Representative	No	No	Yes
Christmas Concert	Music Dept.	Entertain	No	600	Men Under Represented	Yes	No	No
Green and Gold Dance	Student Council	Entertain	No	100	Students	No	No	No
Class Night	Senior Class	Ceremonial	Yes	700	Few Elderly	No	No	Yes
Baccalaureate Service	Senior Class	Ceremonial	Yes	800	Representative	Yes	Yes	Yes
Commencement	Senior Class	Ceremonial	Yes	1,000	Representative	Yes	Yes	Yes

Thus, as an example, the Coronation of the School Queen was conducted by the student council. However, every extracurricular activity group, the varsity athletic team, and each year-class were required to nominate a sweetheart. The vocational classes were asked to prepare a walkway on which the girls could parade. As another example, the athletic department was in charge of arrangements for Homecoming, but it invoked the aid of the masonry class in the preparation of floats and of the tailoring class in the production of skits. To a person unfamiliar with these types of events it was often impossible to know whether the school itself or some section of it was the sponsoring agent. The only exceptions were the Coronation Ball and the Green and Gold Dance, where it was quite apparent that the student council was the organizing agent. This ambiguity concerning the identity of the sponsor was not present at events designed to raise money.

When we turn to the purpose of these events, we notice that three of them are ceremonies associated with the graduation of the senior class: Class Night, Baccalaureate, and Commencement. These were the only three events in which the principal participated as an officiant. Two other events were dances, while another two were directly associated with Homecoming: the Pep Rally and the Homecoming Parade. These two latter were thus both entertaining and morale boosting. The Christmas Concert was likewise an entertainment event. The only other

free event at night was the Coronation of the School Queen.
Its purpose cannot be stated in a single word with precision.
It served to display the most popular girls of the school
when dressed in their very best. It also was the first
event associated with Homecoming, for the school queen, the
football sweetheart, and the senior class sweetheart were
all displayed prominently at both the Homecoming Parade and
the Homecoming Game. Hence it served to unify the various
segments of the school at this important time.

Audience size, as has already been mentioned, was
generally larger for free events than for those for which
an admission fee was charged. The two exceptions among
the free events were the dances sponsored by the student
council. These were both attended by only about a hundred
students, which was fewer than attended most events. There
was a pointed contrast between the coronation ceremony and
the ball which followed it. The coronation was an event to
which the public was invited, while the ball was for students
only. The auditorium stage, where the coronation took place,
was decorated, and there had been prepared a walkway from
which the sweethearts could curtsy. The gymnasium, where
the ball was held, was little changed from what it had been
at 3:30 p.m. when the last class ended: the only difference
being the installation of a juke box. While the sweethearts
made a triumphal egress from the stage and the auditorium,
the procession fizzled out in the lobby of the auditorium,
rather than continued along the corridor to the gymnasium.

In fact, several of the sweethearts did not even attend the Coronation Ball. With regard to the Green and Gold Dance, this was restricted to those presenting their student identification card, which the students had been requested to purchase earlier in the year.

The audience for all events included many students. The free events, however, were also attended by many non-students. The events which occurred on week nights (the Coronation of the School Queen and the Christmas Concert) had fewer males in the audience than females. Perhaps this was a function of the fact that men were more likely to have to go to work the next day. Probably it was related to the nature of the events themselves. On the other hand, the audience represented all age groups: from babies and infants through to those who could have been the mothers and aunts or fathers of the students on display. There were some who may have even been grandparents. Only the Pep Rally was attended by an audience that failed to represent all age groups, for most of those who attended it were students and others in their late teens and early twenties.

A stereotype exists that Negro Americans are unpunctual. Punctuality can be examined from two points of view: did the event commence promptly, and did the spectators arrive promptly? From Table 7 it can be seen that in this respect events fall into those which began more or less on time--arbitrarily say no more than ten minutes late, and events which began later than this. Thus the Christmas Concert,

the Baccalaureate service, and Commencement fall into the first category, while the Coronation of the School Queen and Class Night were among those which began late. When we compare lateness of commencing with the ease with which we can identify the specific sponsor of the event we find a positive relationship. Class Night, for example, was sponsored by the senior class. It began later than the Coronation, where the student council's sponsorship was more veiled. The Baccalaureate and Commencement ceremonies began within a minute of their scheduled time. This suggests that events sponsored by or on behalf of the school are more important than events sponsored by a sector of it.

The public, however, followed a different pattern. With the exception of the Baccalaureate and Commencement ceremonies, people straggled in for up to an hour after the official time for the event to begin. Thus, in the Class Night exercises, the last parents noted to arrive did so just as the preliminary sketch was ending, exactly an hour after the event began. For even the Baccalaureate service, the mistress of ceremonies paused twice (both within the first ten minutes) to direct late comers to the few remaining vacant seats. It can be further pointed out that the late comers constituted a cross section of the audience.

If the pattern for arrival at the events was fundamentally the same for all events, so too was the nature of departure. For some events the spectators stood and talked for only a few minutes. For others they stood about for a

much longer period. In part this was a function of the size
of the crowd: more people meant more opportunities to
speak to others. It also meant more cars to be moved, and
if you have to wait, you may as well talk while you wait.
In part it was a function of the weather: there was little
incentive to stand and talk on a chilly winter evening.
Despite these factors, and others, such as the presence or
absence of police cars, there was a distinctly noticeable
tendency for the departing audience to stand and talk if
the entire family was present. This tendency was absent
if only some members of the family were present. Perhaps
it was to be expected that the younger members were eager
to be on their way. Hence events that were attended by a
youthful audience dispersed much more rapidly than did
other events.

This is an appropriate point at which to introduce
information relative to the termination of the Pep Rally.
The auditorium was well filled with young people as befits
such an occasion. The event began fairly promptly and was
well under way by 7:45 p.m. It did not appear to worry the
audience that neither the entertainers nor the master of
ceremonies could be heard. They were enjoying themselves.
A few minutes after eight, a teacher addressed them saying
in effect "enjoy yourselves more moderately." He warned
that if the exuberance continued, the event would be
stopped. His announcement was followed by the Pep Squad,
who successfully led a series of yells. A singing group

tried to make themselves heard, and failed. A quiet announcement, heard by only those in the front of the audience, was made. The event was terminated and everyone was sent away. It was not 8:20 p.m., the event had lasted much less than an hour. Hence, not only was the audience different, but it was terminated abruptly. This occurred for at least one other similar event during the year, although the technique was less crudely apparent than on this occasion.

About half of the events under discussion (those free events held outside of school hours) had features of ritual associated with them. In fact, several of the events were almost entirely composed of ritual. Such were the Baccalaureate and Commencement ceremonies associated with the graduation exercises of the senior class, and the Coronation of the School Queen and the Homecoming Parade.

When one examines the patterns of these several events, it is noticeable that many have several of the following characteristics: they will be free, sponsored by, or on behalf of, the entire school, begin promptly, occur when all segments of the community may participate, have a well defined ritual associated with them, and probably involve the principal as a member of the official party. It is noticeable that these events include those associated with graduation, and which would therefore be Rites of Passage. It seems logical to conclude therefore, that these events function as ceremonies. If we exclude

those which serve as Rites of Passage, we are left with
those that serve as Rites of Intensification only. (Table 8)
The Rites of Passage are, of course, also Rites of Intensi-
fication.

It is notable that the events which serve as Rites of
Intensification fall into two categories: those in which
the public participated and those purely school events
when the general public was not able to participate.
These latter, while not being ceremonies, did serve the
same purpose as the events which more nearly fill the
requirements of ceremonies and rites. The feature that
all of these events have in common is their intention to
foster the unity of the Negro American community. They
do not serve to bolster school spirit except as this is
a by-product of community unity. Thus we have the entire
school being permitted to watch the television coverage
of the funeral service for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. We
may assume that most of the community did likewise, even
though not at the school. Further, we have the principal
himself ensuring that the administrative features of the
school day were not disruptive. Similarly, special assemblies
could be organized by the school for the visiting Negro
American athlete, and for the enrichment programs, even
though none was organized to mark the reestablishment
of the school community after the summer vacations.

As a result we can understand why the Pep Rally was
aborted. It did not serve to unite this youthful cohort

TABLE 8

LIST OF EVENTS THAT SERVED AS
RITES OF INTENSIFICATION OR AS RITES OF PASSAGE

Rites of Intensification	Rites of Passage
Public Events	Inaugural Assembly
Coronation of the School Queen	Class Night
Homecoming Parade	Baccalaureate Service
Homecoming Game	Senior Awards Day
Television Coverage of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Funeral	Commencement Ceremony
School Events	
Enrichment Assemblies	
Visit by Negro American Athlete	

with the broader Negro American community. We can understand why the Coronation of the School Queen could be such a successful event, and the Coronation Ball, which was apparently a part of the Coronation, could be so little prepared for and so poorly attended.

When we consider the Rites of Passage, we will observe that in each of them there were guest speakers. The guest speaker was always a representative in some way of either the local community or of the broader Negro American community. Only incidently did he represent the wider world at large.

The question arises whether this is the only explanation of the events. It might be expected that most principals would try to unite the community behind the school and would favor enriching programs over more instrumental ones. Such a position, however, does not conflict with the present interpretation, for there is a long held belief that the Negro American subculture can be as readily interpreted in terms of social class variables, as in terms of quasi-caste variables. Thus, the administrative personnel and teachers of Carver High belong to the Negro American middle class, and behave as do middle-class Americans. The students, for the most part, are from a lower echelon of society, and accordingly expect a more direct approach to the solutions of their problem than is customary among middle-class adults.

The data under consideration therefore offer support for the both views and in so doing highlight the widely recognized point that while they do have their own distinctive subculture, Negro Americans are Americans.

Rites of Passage

As we have noted, Rites, whether of Passage or of Intensification, exhibit many similar characteristics. This is to be expected in this study since the individuals whose changed status is being recognized are members of the same group that was fortified by the intensificatory events.

The five events associated with the Rites of Passage (see Table 8) contained a much more clearly defined and elaborated ritual than did other events. Hence, in them we should find an expression of the more important values of the group. It is in search of these that we now turn our attention.

These five events were engaged in by three different sets of actors. Firstly there were the persons who performed the Rites: the officers of the ceremony. Next, there was the audience: usually large, and representative of the entire community. Lastly, there were the initiates: the key persons being acted upon, and whose change of status was being dramatized. Their actions were controlled by the ritual, so that we will consider the two aspects together.

Officiants of the Ceremonies

The persons who were officiating can be dichotomized
in three different, but equally obvious ways. Firstly, there
were males and females. Since the vice-principal of the
senior high school was a woman, it was to be expected that
she would play a role in these ceremonies. Her most
significant one was at the Baccalaureate service, when she
shared the platform with a number of others--all of whom
were males. As mistress of ceremonies, the vice-principal
was located on the platform so that she could easily reach
the microphone. Therefore she sat in the chair nearest
it to the audience's left. She was the only person to
sit on that side of the microphone.

At the Commencement ceremony, the vice-principal of
the junior high school was the master of ceremonies. He
too, therefore, needed to be near the microphone. His
seat was the nearest to the microphone but on the audience's
right of it. He sat in a row with all other members of
the official party. They were all male. Although there
were several chairs to the left of the microphone they
were not used. Further to the rear, in a semi-circle, were
chairs for the members of the choir who were not seniors.
Two of these chairs, on the left of the stage, were
occupied by the choir mistress and the accompanist. Thus
we see that the space used by the official party was
divided between the males and the females. This is an

almost universal feature of ritual, and is presumed to symbolize the separate roles and functions of the two sexes.

From the evidence available, it is impossible to ascertain whether there was any significance in the allocation of the religious service to the female, and the secular service to the male vice-principal. We can merely note that the literature on the Negro American community supports the popular belief that women are more frequent churchgoers than are men. (Lewis 1955:136)

The second dichotomy for the official party is with members of the school and non-school members. All of the latter were male. There are two features concerning this. Firstly, the elaborate introductions give the principal speaker in each occasion, and, secondly, that always the guests were symbols, in some way, of the local community. This latter feature has already been commented upon, so let us heed the former.

To the extent that there is little occasion for pomp and ceremony within the Negro community, to the extent that there are few opportunities for entertainment and social gatherings apart from the weekly church services (to which probably not all persons go) so one may expect that much will be made of any event which offers an opportunity for display and socializing. Furthermore, within the Negro American Community there are relatively

few opportunities to behave in terms of status differences. Therefore, when an opportunity does arise, it is made much of.

In addition, it is part of the theory of ritual that any stranger to the group has to be incorporated into it. (van Gennep 1964:26-29) This involves establishing as many points of contact as are considered relevant under the circumstances. In the present situation one of the guests was white. It is not unlikely that there was a more than usually strong desire to neutralize him, and to give the audience reasons for identifying him with the ceremony and themselves. Therefore the lengthy introduction served to make him 'acceptable.'

Finally, with regard to the officiants of the ceremonies associated with the Rites of Passage, what roles were to be played? At first glance it would seem that there was little in common among the ceremonies. However, a pattern does emerge when we dichotomize them into those controlled by the students, and those controlled by the faculty, the third of our bifurcations.

From Table 9 we observe that both utilize a master of ceremonies, usually the vice-president of the student council or vice-principal of the school. We observe that the faculty assign a specific person to tell the audience the reason for the event. The master of ceremonies carried out this function when the students were the officiants.

TABLE 9

A COMPARISON OF THE ROLES UTILIZED BY
FACULTY AND STUDENT OFFICIANTS OF CEREMONIES

Faculty Officiants	Student Officiants
Master of Ceremonies	Master of Ceremonies
Occasion Setter	————————————
Person--granted--recognition	————————————
School representative	Student representative
————————————	Sub-representatives
Guest speaker	Guest speaker
Representative of other team	Representative of other team

During faculty controlled ceremonies, it was noticeable that two members of the faculty were part of the official party on the platform, yet they were not called upon to officiate in any way. On one occasion they were two sponsors of the student council, on another they were the coordinating sponsor of the senior class and the vice-principal of the junior high school. The students did not accord recognition to other students in this way.

The school representative in faculty controlled ceremonies was the principal. It was quite noticeable that his role in each of these five ceremonies became progressively more important, in terms of the duration of his initiation to the assemblage and in terms of the specific categories of topics involved. Thus at the Inaugural Assembly which was the first of the ceremonies, he confined his remarks to little more than perfunctory congratulations. At the last event, Commencement, he spoke for some ten minutes, recognized various categories of the audience (such as previous faculty members, students who had graduated since he became principal, and so on) and received the graduates from their sponsor. In this ceremony much greater use was made by him of banter and jest to drive home his points. The student controlled ceremonies also utilized this role. The president of the student council occupied it during the Inaugural Assembly, while the president of the senior class did so on Class Night.

The students made use of sub-representatives as a means of granting recognition to a large number of people. Unlike the faculty member who was granted recognition, the student sub-representative performed a specific function. They were the persons who had been chairwoman of the several committees during the year: class history, class gift, class will, and so on.

Finally, we notice that a representative of the other 'team' (to use Goffman's term) is given the opportunity to initiate the action for a few brief moments. (1959:79-80) Thus, during the installation ceremony, both the principal and the advisor were invited to participate. During the Senior Awards Day Ceremony, the student council president was a member of the official party and, later, the delegates of the senior class were permitted to present gifts to members of the faculty. At only the Baccalaureate Service did a similar interaction not occur.

What do these things tell us about the culture of Carver High? Firstly, there is an attempt by both faculty and students to give recognition to as many people as possible. Thus all members of both the retiring and in-coming executive committees of the student council were on stage during the Installation Assembly. All committee chairmen of the senior class spoke on Class Night. Among the faculty, as many position holders as possible were displayed, usually only once each, sometimes twice (as in the case of the two vice-principals). Class Night, Senior Awards Day,

and Commencement gave extra people the opportunity to share
the limelight, for individual students came forward to
present gifts to members of the faculty, individual students
stood as their peers recognized their talents and contribu-
tions made by them during their school years, or faculty
members presented the awards earned by the pupils of their
own classes.

Beyond this, we must note a difference. Although the
formal social structure and the roles played were quite
similar when both faculty and students were officiants, it
was noticeable that the students made less differentiation
among themselves and the audience than did the faculty. In
fact, such differentiation among the officiants as was made
in student controlled ceremonies tended to be made by the
representatives of the faculty. This complements the
previous observation that the faculty have a more clearly
defined status system. Here we see that it is they, and not
the students, who differentiate the student body into its
different status levels.

The Audience

Let us turn from those officiating, to those whose
role was merely that of spectator. Regardless of how few
were present (as on Senior Awards Day) or how many (as on
Commencement) the members of the public represented most
sectors of the community. Those not represented included
the very aged and ill. In general, their behavior was

respectful and lacking the restlessness that marked so many
other events. Neither were there any disturbances outside
the auditorium. However, a few spontaneous types of be-
haviors disturbed the rhythm of the events being discussed.
The most widespread one was the use of cameras to take
photographs of the events. Youths of both sexes and adult
females (but no adult males) moved with complete casualness
wherever they thought most desirable in order to take
photographs during the ceremonies. One student was observed
to begin at the front row, move on to the stage, among the
official party, through them and to the rear of the stage
before she took the photograph she wanted.

Audience reaction is another type of spontaneous
behavior. The announcement of the names of the leading
athlete on Class Night, for example, resulted in widespread
and lengthy applause, as did the announcement on Senior
Awards Day that five athletes had been awarded college
scholarships. However, a few moments later the award of a
scholarship worth $200 was greeted by stunned silence, then
whispering to confirm the value, and finally by widespread
applause.

Another aspect of audience reaction was exemplified by
a youth who called loudly, "Talk loudly--we can't hear you."
The object of his reference was unclear, although his remark
was directed at those on stage. The other members of the
audience clapped and cheered his action more loudly than they
did any award. A similar type of incident occurred during

the same ceremony when a teacher stood to announce awards won
in his course. Unlike other teachers, he was not wearing a
coat. Wearing only a short-sleeved shirt, he appeared out of
place among the more formally attired persons on stage. He
was greeted by raucous laughter.

These incidents yield clues, to which we will later
return, concerning the valued objects of the group. Out-
standing ability on the athletic field is the most spontaneously
rewarded, although the rewards for academic achievement were
most sincerely given. The difference between the two was
akin to the difference between like and respect. At the same
time, respect is not accorded to those whose status might
seem to warrant it. Rather it is granted only where it is
merited. Thus the teacher in shirt-sleeves did not merit
respect, and was therefore not accorded it.

Ritual Features of the Ceremonies

What of the seniors themselves: how did they behave
during these proceedings? While the events were in progress,
their behavior was governed by the ritual of the ceremony.
The gross steps of the ritual were set out in the programs
that accompanied the event. The pattern becomes apparent
from Table 10 where we observe that the processional is
followed by a patriotic song or hymn. The third item in
each case is a prayer or Bible reading. Then followed another
song, the speech, a closing song, the announcements and the
recessional. The importance of the first song is that it

TABLE 10

BASIC FORM OF ALL ASSEMBLIES AND EVENTS THAT INVOLVED RITUAL

Item 1. Processional

　　2.　Patriotic Song

　　3.　Scripture reading and/or prayer

　　4.　The occasion

. . . .

　　5.　Song

　　6.　Speech

. . . .

　　7.　Announcements

　　8.　Recessional

Note: Items 5 and 6 were repeated in accordance with
　　　　the number of principal speakers.

symbolizes loyalty (and this writer was struck by the
infrequency with which the national anthem was sung). The
prayer and the song following it reflect the religious nature
of the community in which the school is located. The total
pattern thus serves several functions: expressing loyalty,
expressing values, and to provide variety to the program.
Furthermore, the insertion of a song at the conclusion of
each speech, especially as shown in the inaugural assembly,
serves to increase the entertainment value of the event, a
development to be expected in such a community. One note-
worthy feature of every event for which a program was avail-
able, was the closeness with which the script was followed.

Other features of the ritual were noticeable as well.
In the Inauguration Assembly the features of the auditorium
were turned to effective use in order to heighten the
dramatic effects of the ceremony. Thus the officers entered
via the third aisle, and the officers-elect via the second
aisle. (See Figure 11) They crossed in the space between
the seats and the stage, so that the officers entered the
stage from the audience's right. Each officer walked in front
of his about-to-be-installed counterpart as the two files
intersected each other. Each officer carried a lighted
candle, each officer-elect a new candle.

The transfer of power was symbolized by the officers-
elect repeating in turn the oath of office, lighting his
candle from that of his retiring counterpart, and then
occupying the seat of the latter. The principal officers:
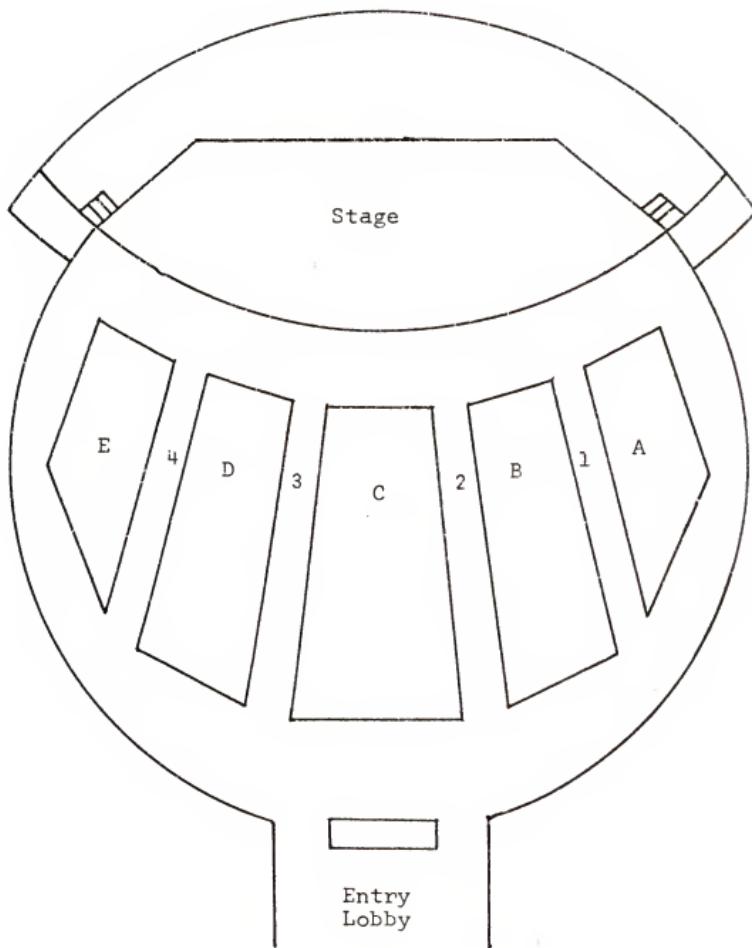
Figure 11. Sketch of Carver High School Auditorium
(Not to Scale)

(Letters indicate seating blocks, numbers indicate aisles)

president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer were
installed separately. The remainder of the executive:
parliamentarian, chaplain, assistant secretary, and so on,
took the oath of office as a group. At all times, officers
sat on the right side of the stage, non-officers to the
left. Departure from the scene was a retracing of the entry.
Thus the ritual provided symbolism not only of the transition
in space, but also of the transfer of knowledge and wisdom,
and the precedence of the officer over the person.

At the Inauguration Assembly the officers entered in
hierarchical order, with the president leading, followed by
the vice-president, secretary, and so on. For the Graduation
Ceremonies, a different order of entry was followed. In the
front row, and part of the second row, were the honor students,
in strict alphabetical order. Then followed all other
graduating students again in alphabetical order. Males and
females were intermingled. No recognition was accorded
class officers. The class president was, for example, the
very last of the honor students. Two variations from the
rehearsed script occurred during the actual ceremonies. The
first was that non-graduating members of the senior class
were not supposed to sit among the graduating group.
They did however, for all ceremonies except the actual
Commencement Ceremony itself. The other variation was that
during the Commencement Ceremony students did not sit
as instructed in strict alphabetical order. Instead
there was a tendency for friendship groups to take
precedence. The breakdown was not complete: merely a trend

for girls to be with girls, boys with boys and, for especially the latter, an abandonment of alphabetical ordering.

In this ceremony also the physical features of the auditorium were used to facilitate proceedings. Having been seated in alphabetical order, each odd numbered row, from the front, entered and departed via aisle 3, while each even numbered row departed from aisle 2. Thus the entry and departure of two files of berobed students was made both more efficient and more spectacular than it might otherwise have been. The audience remained standing for the entry of the students about to graduate but was seated for the departure of the graduated students. This could be interpreted as symbolizing the change in status from special members to that of ordinary members of the community.

Finally, during the occasions that the representatives of the initiates were the initiators, they inserted elements of interaction that went beyond the requirements of the program. Thus while it was expected that faculty members would receive tokens of appreciation, such as gift certificates or books, it was not expected that a song of appreciation would be rendered.

To summarize the various ideas that we have examined we can recall that there were three parties to the ceremonies: officiants, audience, and initiates. The officiants comprised the elected or appointed leaders of the school, whether faculty or pupils. They each gave differential opportunity for the display of status. In most ceremonies

there was opportunity for both a representative of the other team, and of the community to participate. It was they who prepared the program and endeavoured to ensure that the caste of other officials, audience and initiates played their roles correctly and on cue. In selecting their guest speaker, and their representatives, they ensured that the values they believed in were presented. They were the initiators of the action, and so both other parties could merely respond to them. To the extent that things did not run smoothly, as in the non-arrival of prizes, so certain of their values were revealed, albeit inadvertently.

The audience, for its part, came. This in itself was no doubt indicative of their expectation that the ceremony would be a success, and that they would see and hear what they wanted. As befits a ceremonial occasion, all strata of the community were represented. During the performance, they were attentive and behaved in accordance with the cues presented to them. Consequently, we may assume that they did in fact see and hear what they desired. To the extent that they expressed themselves in some way that was not in the script, they were expressing their disapproval of it, and their independence. Some examples of this were noted, most particularly by that section of the audience entitled 'pupils.' Most prominent of these acts were those related to recording the action, and to expressing an opinion of the officials.

Finally, there were the initiates themselves who were expected to follow the program docilely and obediently. To the extent that they did so they, too, were concurring in the values held up to them by the official leaders. To the extent that they did not, we may infer that the approved values did not meet with their favor. Such acts that did not conform to the script express their own values. We noted a refusal on their part to either disassociate themselves from their peers who had not met the requirements for initiation, and we noted a failure to forego preferred patterns of interaction. In addition there were opportunities for them to initiate to the officials. To the extent that this was in accordance with the script, there is again an attitude of playing the game according to its rules. However, we also noted in these actions examples where the script was not followed, as in the presentation of gifts to faculty members and the school.

The Cultural Pattern

The task in this final section of the chapter is to interpret the material presented in this chapter, and to depict, to the extent possible, the culture of these students. In one sense, and to a large degree, the behavior of the audience is of only minor concern in the present analysis. This is because it was, in the main, acting not as part of the school, but as part of the community. To a large extent, they were acting in character with the stereotype held of

them, for they were usually late for the events. They were
restless, although much less so than when attending non-
ceremonial events. We are only interested in that part of
the audience who were pupils. For the sake of simplicity
we will discuss them with the initiates, who, until the
conclusion of the ceremonies, were also pupils.

The initiates of the ceremonies were reacting in set
events to three specific objects: to their peers, to the
faculty who represented 'school,' and to the audience. As
they acted they reflected the inputs they had received from
two major sources: their community with its culture, and
the school curriculum which represented the American culture.
It is not pertinent at the moment to consider the degree of
similarity between the two. The behavior with regard to the
audience was indirect, for only rarely did the initiates
themselves originate action to which the audience was re-
quired to respond. When the audience did, the response
required was a ritualized form of applause.

Instead, the function of the audience was to see and
hear: an excuse for the initiates to go through their
actions. As such its function was to perceive and understand
the messages that the initiates were signalling. One of the
most obvious messages being sent was that we are 'someone':
people who have achieved certain things: a level of
education in particular. They were less concerned, it seems
to this writer, at conveying a message about the level, or
standard of education they had attained, than the amount or

duration of it. If its quality, and their standards of attainment had been of more importance, we would have expected the Awards Day Ceremony to have been held at a time when parents could have attended in large numbers, instead of being held during the morning of a working day. In contrast, the mere fact of graduating meant their parents had not needed them to leave and become breadwinners. They were signalling a message concerning family status. This message was reinforced by the clothing worn; for none, in the final analysis, were too poor to afford completely new clothing for all visible attire. That this message was understood can be seen from the numbers of people taking photographs. The 'camera doesn't lie,' so there was tangible proof, should it be needed, that Jim or Mary had indeed graduated. Thus the audience was there to witness what had been achieved by both the individual pupil and his family. As such it served to boost the status of the initiate and his family.

The audience had at least one other role: to hear the messages said in jest by the initiates. Among these were jokes at parental concern with employment and heterosexual relations and qualities of temperament.

There were more opportunities for them to act toward their teachers. One of these ways was also in jest. A particularly relevant incident occurred on Class Night, when as the climax of the class prophecy, a student was foreseen as being a future Governor of Mississippi. To this observer, this phrase captures most dramatically the aims of education

at Carver High, as these pupils perceived them. Education was for one's future life, to serve the pupil in the very long run. To these young people, with their immediate problems ranging from how to avoid pregnancies to gaining entry to college in September, the benefits to be gained from the education offered were as imminent as a Negro American's becoming Governor of the Union's most racist state.

Secondly, they could see for themselves, even in their graduation exercises, the inefficiency, inconsistency, and disorganization of which they had remarked throughout the year. Thus, the public address system had to be tinkered with and adjusted during each ceremony; the principal had to be called from the platform; the gifts that the teachers had ordered on their behalf, as well as their medallions for meritorious school work, did not arrive by the due date.

They initiated action toward those members of the faculty who had been their actual teachers and advisors. In most cases these recognitions were routine, but in one instance it was not. A teacher was summoned to the platform, and the school queen sang him an unaccompanied solo. For the present it must suffice to merely state that this teacher met their standards of what an excellent and ideal teacher ought be. In general, we can say that their initiation to their teachers reflected in some measure the degree to which they felt that their teachers had reacted relevantly to them in the past. By relevant, the pupils meant aiding them with their problems of dating, of clothing,

of obtaining employment when the school year ended and of preparing them for entry to college in the fall, should they be able to afford it, and of teaching them well enough to be eligible for scholarship aid.

There was an additional form of behavior which these youths initiated to their teachers during the year, but which, as befits students-on-show, they did not explicitly exhibit during the ceremonies. However some of their school mates did. This behavior may be termed 'assertiveness.' Thus there was the student who shouted for those on the platform to "Talk louder." Another less overt example was the quiet insistence that non-graduating members sit with their graduating classmates. These students are unwilling to accord higher status and therefore act deferentially toward their teachers simply because the teacher occupies that position. Higher status is accorded only when it is merited. Hence when teachers initiated to students within the context of a set event, sometimes the response indicated that the pupils were responding within the context of a pair event in which status distinctions were lacking.

The essence of Lewis' discussion on status is that within a relatively small Negro American community, most statuses are of approximately equal prestige. (1955:108-222) The literature about the Negro American also suggests that the members of this subculture have access to few resources that will permit them to raise their status. To the pupils under discussion, the most readily available resource was

education for they perceived it as the key to employment in occupations that not only paid higher salaries but were also of higher status than those held by most of their elders. Hence they reacted to their teachers in terms of these two dimensions: firstly, the extent to which their teachers were similar-dissimilar in status from themselves, and, secondly, in terms of the extent to which their teachers did-did not aid them in their quest for education. Those teachers who were perceived as being similar to themselves and who did not offer them relevant education were not esteemed, and therefore not accorded deference to the same extent as those who rated highly on one or other of the two continua. The teacher who rated highly on both continua was, of course, the most highly esteemed.

Such behavior as the foregoing example of "Talk louder," is also an instance of the tendency to react instantaneously to the surface features of stimuli. Thus, at the Senior Awards Day ceremony, there was laughter at the unusual appearance of the teacher in shirt-sleeves. On another occasion a young male singer's voice cracked. The audience reacted with instantaneous belly laughter. If asked concerning either of these incidents, students would have replied, simply, and honestly (and with a look of astonishment), "He looked (or sounded) funny, so why shouldn't we laugh?" No malice is intended in such incidents.

There were occasions when students were required to
initiate to their peers. In typical scenes, the vice-
president of the student council was mistress of ceremonies
for the Inauguration Assembly and a male student was master
of ceremonies on Class Night. Yet such use of power was
through delegates specifically chosen for such tasks.
However, we must note, in contrast to a pattern of leaders
and followers, that one of equality was more widespread.

This was given clearest expression during such rites
as the class history and class prophecy where attempts were
made to incorporate every member of the class. The class
gift to the school was chosen for a similar reason. It was
a large album in which to place individual photographs of
every member of each year's graduating class. A suggestion
by the researcher, that an Honor Board would be something for
the students to consider was rejected outright immediately:
it would recognize only one or two students: a gift must be
for all. Characteristically, gifts for the teachers were
distributed on the basis of a different pupil making the
presentations to each teacher, rather than one person such
as the class president, making all presentations. Thus the
predominant pattern was that of giving equal status to all,
with a de-emphasis of the role of elected leaders.

It will be recalled from the first chapter that we
might expect each person to view his world as lacking in
unity, as exploitive, as aggressive, and as immediately im-
pringing upon him, and that he saw, fundamentally the world

as a place in which one sought fun. From the present infor-
mation, it is possible to reach conclusions that, tentatively,
are similar. The de-emphasis by the students of their
delegates, and the assertion of the equality of all are
characteristics of a disunited group reluctant to subject the
individual to the common interest. We have seen that even
on ceremonial occasions their volatile nature could not be
subdued as they reacted to the surface features of events
immediately they happened. From the audience we saw an
example of verbal agression toward faculty members. The only
element for which we have no evidence is exploitation.

Ceremonies in and of themselves are not always conducive
to fun, and such was the case here. However, one ought to ask
two questions: what happened after the ceremonies concluded,
and was there any evidence which would refute the postulate
that fun was the basic end in view? To the former question
we may answer that after the Senior Awards Day ceremony the
students were released from school. Hence they could embark
on whatever activity they wished. Further, after Class Night,
the students attended a class party which, from all acounts,
was fun. In answer to the second question, not even elderly
grandmothers appeared to have tears, even of joy, after the
commencement ceremony. This was the culmination of much
struggle, and gay, lighthearted happiness pervaded the
grounds of the school as the families and students inter-
mingled. There was neither sadness nor seriousness present.

From the viewpoint of the faculty, the situation is different. The principal is undoubtedly aware that he is a leader, a figure of high status in his community. Almost certainly he is aware that as well as admiration for his position there is also envy and resentment, and possibly suspicion. (Lewis 1955:157) Hence he has to preserve his position within the community. Consequently, his reticence to appear publicly in the early ceremonies and, as the public begins to expect more and to warm up to the situation, he takes a more prominent role.

With regard to the faculty, two explanations are possible. On the one hand, at the informal level, that there are egalitarian relations among them. Therefore, they deserve their moment in the limelight too. On the other, since they are of equally high status within this largely undifferentiated community, their exposure must not be too great. Perhaps the principal is even mindful of his own prestige, and so they must not be displayed too often. Regardless of the reason, we see the rotation of those on display.

It is the principal's duty, as a leader, to forge a greater sense of community among them. How can this be achieved (when one realizes the volatile nature of the people) without disrupting the needed unity? The answer lies in banter and jest. Radcliffe-Brown has indicated that joking occurs when it is necessary to preserve amicable relations between members of a group who occupy different statuses. (1952:92) Thus the principal, by the use of this social

mechanism revealed himself as a member of the different groups, and so made them tangential to each other. Thus the ties between the school and the community are strengthened.

Finally, the principal must consider the fact that in the Negro subculture, the woman is dominant. Yet he knows the need for male dominance, and so, unobtrusively, the woman must be given a less prominent background role. Perhaps it is even symbolic that the female vice-principal was mistress of ceremonies for the first formal assembly associated with graduation, and then faded into the background for the remainder.

More generally, what is the role of the school? We saw above that it is a central institution in the community, and that its Rites of Intensification are for the community, not for itself. Thus it has as one function that of developing community cohesion. It has its manifest function also: to educate the young. In this capacity its loyalties are divided between its own community and the wider culture. It is the latter which is given expression in the formal curriculum, and in the textbooks supplied.

The school functions well enough to graduate its pupils. Yet, from the evidence presented above, concerning the Careers Information Assembly when the seniors were not invited, we may wonder whether practical considerations, like jobs for its students, really matter. The suspicion thus formed is enforced when we perceive that assemblies of the student body are fostered for programs of cultural enrichment.

The content of such programs was related to the Negro
community. Hence we may wonder whether the interests of the
wider culture take a second place to those of the immediate
community.

In stressing enrichment, the school is not only pro-
viding opportunity for the community to gather as a group.
It is also attacking some aspects of its members' views of
the world. Thus the propensity to aggression and violence
is the antithesis of programs exhibiting taste and 'high'
culture, as in the dance and music. These latter attributes,
as well as the more formal aspects of the ceremonies, serve
to boost group morale, and to develop the sense of identity
that Erikson believes to be lacking among the American
Negro. (1966:227-253)

At the same time the benefits of an enrichment program
are slow to manifest themselves. They are not rapid and
direct, as are the results of drilling a mathematical table
or a spelling list. In this sense the enrichment fostered
by the faculty is working against the propensity for
immediacy which we have noticed.

It was noticed that a program was prepared for almost
every event during the school year, and that the program was
followed carefully. Following Goffman, we may argue that
this serves as a script to guide the representatives of each
team, and so prevent either side from inadvertently revealing
weaknesses in its position to the other. (1959:84-5) Such
a view is consonant with the present situation, especially

where the faculty members are so intimately associated with the inadequacies of their cultural tradition. Thus we may see the program as a serious attempt to limit the opportunities to be inefficient, inconsistent and unpunctual. As such, they operate for both faculty, and those to whom they initiate action; both audience and the initiates. To the extent that the rituals were rehearsed, this further reduces the problem of the students being intractable when on display during the event. Any dispute by the students could be encountered in private, and after being resolved, practice would reduce the incidence of further undesired behavior.

Finally, by de-emphasizing the ceremonies that were for the school alone, such as the Pep Rally, we see the faculty again considering the well-being of the larger community. If the youths form their own group, this creates a subgroup within what is already a minority group. Further, if they become too exuberant, as a result of this particular event, when they depart from it they may engage in rowdy behavior. As a consequence, the faculty resorts to its authority, and aborts such programs before the youths get too involved, before they become possibly unmanageable, before they reach the stage of excitement that might be dangerous for their own safety and that of the community.

Thus we can see that the actions of the faculty are also explicable within the framework of disunity, aggression and immediacy of response. As with the students there appears to be no evidence from these ceremonies to support any concept of exploitation.

Summary

Within the present chapter a review of the events when
Carver High assembled was undertaken. Those events were
analyzed to reveal the occasions which could be termed
ceremonial. Ceremonial events were found to be those held
when a wide cross section of the public attended, were free,
were sponsored by or for the school itself rather than for
some part of it, had a well defined ritual as part of the
ceremony, and were those in which the principal played a
leading role. Regardless of whether teachers or students
acted as officials, representatives of the other party
usually participated in an initiating capacity. From the
evidence available it was concluded that the Rites of
Intensification served to unify the community, rather than
the school.

The Rites of Passage were analyzed in detail, in
accordance with Radcliffe-Brown's theory that ceremonies and
ritual reveal the basic cultural pattern of the group. This
revealed that pupils initiated towards the audience with the
intent of bolstering their own morale and their own power
with respect to the group. They initiated to the faculty
members in a variety of ways: sometimes volatile and in
response to superficial reasons, sometimes in an assertive
manner as equals, sometimes to accord them status. In so
doing the students revealed their values as being aggressive
individuality, volatility, and a desire for power. These
values were concluded to be the bases for their pattern of
interaction with their peers, where their volatile reactions

and assertiveness were also apparent. In addition, they revealed a preference for equality among themselves, and a reluctance to confer status on some at the expense of many. It was argued that this agrees with the disunity and excessive individualism postulated previously as a characteristic of the Negro American way of life.

The faculty values were interpreted as being a reaction to the observed disunity, aggressiveness, and volatility of the youth. They fostered events which unite and boost the morale of the entire community, not just its youthful cohort--in fact they frustrated efforts to unite the latter. Events sponsored by the faculty were enriching rather than instrumental. Such programs tend to counter the instantaneous reaction of other forms of entertainment. The use of a program in ceremonies was seen as reducing the risk of inconsistency, and inappropriate forms of behavior.

In general, it seemed as though the view that the world is disunited, aggressive, and immediately imminent colors the reactions of the population of this school. From the evidence available in these ceremonies, exploitation could not be substantiated as an attribute of the world.

CHAPTER V

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND THE VALUATIONAL SYSTEM

The previous chapter analyzed ceremonial events, to
ascertain some of the values that the faculty and students
of Carver hold and which influence their mode of operation.
In this chapter we shall continue to examine the values of
the students, basing our inferences upon regular school day
activities.

Extracurricular Activities

For purposes of exposition, since any one type of
event will usually reveal the full range of elements contained
within the culture, examples will be drawn from only a few
sources: the Senior Class Homeroom and Class Meetings; the
National Honor Society, most of whose members were seniors;
and the Student Council, whose Executive Council was, with
one exception, comprised of seniors.

Senior Class Homeroom Meetings

Homeroom period occurred daily, lasting twenty minutes.
As we have seen, its activities were conducted under less
than ideal conditions. On most occasions class meetings were
also held in the auditorium, although on one occasion a
meeting was held in the gymnasium.

The senior class had a highly differentiated executive body. However, the only officers called upon with regularity were the class president, and the committee chairmen. There were seven committees: class history, class will, class prophecy, class song, class motto, and the two dress committees. With the exception of the male dress committee, each of the chairmen were girls. Each volunteered for her office, and only one person volunteered for each. As one informant said, "If she was willing to do it, why would anyone else want to volunteer?" These chairmen formed their committees by co-opting their friends.

These meetings usually dealt with one or more of the following topics: discipline, in which the disruptive behavior of the group was emphasized; graduation matters usually focusing on the senior trip; the choice of clothes for graduation exercises; and, less frequently, such other items as class gift, class song, or class motto. In addition, ways of raising money for the events associated with graduation and miscellaneous routine matters, such as attendance and the distribution of report cards, were also topics dealt with at these meetings.

Perhaps expectedly, when the coordinating sponsor began a lecture on misbehavior, there was usually a muttering of "Oh no--not again!" from among the student body. Frequently, his tirade had little effect until, in a final burst of anger, he would identify one or two students by name. This usually had the effect of producing almost complete silence and attention immediately.

When the principal appeared, however, such comments were less in evidence, although by no means absent. Their approaches bore one distinct difference: the principal usually gave ample opportunity for the students to air their grievances. These, as expressed at such times, focussed on two or three topics. Most important to the students was the arbitrariness of some teachers in attributing blame and punishment to those who allegedly misbehaved. The students were adamant that the wrong student was often blamed, or that the punishment meted was disproportionate to the offence, or that the teachers themselves were inconsistent in their actions: punishing today for what was permitted yesterday, or punishing one and not another for the same offence. Despite the best efforts of the principal, he was unable to convince the students that their view was incorrect.

Secondly, the students regarded it as unfair that work was unequally divided among them. Some students had study halls during the day, while others did not. Some students had courses requiring much preparation and lengthy assignments, and others did not. These were facts of life, and the students accepted them as such. They objected, however, when a teacher for whom they were completely up to date, would not excuse them from his class in order to study a course in which they were behind. The principal was, again, adamant that this should not occur.

The final, oft repeated theme was their disunited class, and their failure to cooperate with their sponsors in preparing for the graduation exercises. To understand this, we will first need to consider some of the other topics. By and large, however, they accepted this comment as being correct. On one occasion, a student stood and delivered a most self-abasing description of the class, reminding one of Goffman's theory of total institutions. (1957:49-50)

Other of their values were revealed later in the year, during the teachers' strike, when the seniors were the only students at school for two weeks. Their reaction to the situation was ambivalent. On the one hand, they were bored: for their regular classes were disrupted, and the temporary classes were not adequate. On the other, however, they appreciated the quietness and the fact that they did have a lunch hour free of continuous supervision.

The major routine business of the homeroom was, of course, roll check. Usually students checked the roll, and, in so doing often relied on their knowledge rather than upon the actual physical presence of a person when failing to mark him absent (no mark was recorded if he was present). Because there were always people coming or going, or moving from one part of the auditorium to another the researcher found it impossible to count those present at any homeroom period. Hence he does not know whether students were recorded as present, on the knowledge that they would be at school, when they had yet to arrive. However, there was

never any doubt that more people were present when a homeroom period dealt with 'class' matters if the business of the class meeting was announced on the previous day. The point to be made is this: if the students had reason to suspect that something of importance to them would occur, then they were present. If they did not know this, then they would be less likely to be punctual. More often than not, however, information would not be given and so the attendance would be 'normal.'

Information was withheld in other respects as well. For example, students were requested to provide their telephone numbers, with the mere justification that "it is important that we have this information," or students would be called to the coordinating sponsor's table, without any public reason. The observer noted more than one student respond by merely slouching a little lower in the seat to a request such as the latter.

Often quite complex information was offered to the students orally. The organization for the Careers Information Assembly was typical. Students were given three small slips of card about two-and-a-half inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in width, each containing a letter and a number and each of a different color. The color referred to the period, the number to the room, and the letter to the particular employer. Not only did each section sponsor explain orally at least once, but the coordinating sponsor did so twice. At the conclusion of the homeroom period few

had more than the vaguest of ideas of what the letters stood for. An enterprising few obtained copies of the official program and became centers of attraction at the conclusion of the period.

Report cards were also distributed during homeroom period. Three features of this event are noteworthy. Firstly, it became apparent that verbal information provided by the students was usually inflated. A student claiming a B+ average was usually found to have a B-, and so on. Secondly, there was an apparent freedom by the students in showing their reports to others. This, however, proved less random than at first appeared the case: report cards circulated freely among clique friends, as one would expect, but their circulation to persons outside the clique was observed to be to those whose cards were of approximately equal merit. Thus the person who had dropped from A- to B was reluctant to advertise the fact among the A- group. On the other hand, the person who had improved was usually discrete in seeking comparisons among his or her former group. During this period critical comments of teachers were occasionally heard: alleged unfairness in a few cases and an alleged instance of teacher arbitrariness, occasioned by a teacher who had refused a make-up test to a student who had been summoned to work one afternoon when an

unscheduled test was given. Such criticisms were, however, rather rare. Perhaps one reason for this lack lies in the fact that most students already knew their results, and that such feelings were expressed at that time rather than when the results officially appeared. Thirdly, there was the practice by at least one sponsor of handing report cards to anyone who was near for them to distribute.

Business meetings dealing with class matters usually involved a discussion on the nature of the class trip, and on the clothes to be worn at the graduation events. The class trip became an issue early in the year. A simple ballot was circulated requesting students to write in their first, second, and third choices of venue. The two leading places were, let us say, Miami and Washington, D. C. Student feeling was not high, but it existed with those who favored Miami thinking in terms of the beach by day and opportunities to party by night. The minority saw Miami as a place they could get to any old time, and as not being all that different from home. Washington, they thought, was just that much more difficult to reach, just that much more exotic to visit.

During one homeroom session, the coordinating sponsor announced that during the week-end, he and the other sponsors had discussed the matter, and considered that there were

insufficient things to do in Miami. They, therefore, recommended a visit to Washington. To simplify the discussion, this recommendation was subsequently adopted but later ran into complications because of the Washington riots and the state-wide teachers' strike. During the debates that followed it became clear that the purpose of the trip was twofold: to enable us as classmates to have one last good time together, and, on that good time, to dress in our best, and act our best when dining and dancing at the best place we can afford. The divisions among them were less on what to do, than on where one could do it best: the extra fares might mean a lesser party in Washington to one group, while to their opponents a good party in a more prestigious place was better than an excellent party in an ordinary city.

For the boys, the issue of clothes was quickly resolved: less than fifteen minutes being needed to reach a decision. The class president had an excellent technique of ensuring that everyone knew what they had decided: the alternatives were posed, and the vote taken, then he asked: you want this one? You don't want that one? receiving a chorus of 'Yes' and 'No' respectively. He would then pose the next item to be discussed.

The girls, however, had more difficulty. Their chairman was less forceful than her male counterpart, and, of

course, the problem was less simple. The original choice was for a formal evening gown but, by the end of the year, it had become a blue suit with appropriate accessories. The important feature is less what, than how long, the matter took. Not only was there the special class meeting period devoted to the topic, but also two regular homeroom periods and an additional class period--to reach the agreement to wear a formal gown. How much additional time was required to change the gown into a blue suit is, unfortunately, not known.

However, by far the most controversial item was finance. There were two methods of raising money: by individual assessment, and by class projects. The assessment was due once a month, and was never greater than $2 per person, being actually computed on the basis of $50 per section per month. It could be raised either by straight-out levy, or by a section project such as selling toothbrushes or candy, or car washing. Every month the contribution of each section, both for the month, and cumulatively, was read. That section which was in the lead received as generous an applause as were the boos accorded the trailing group.

As the year progressed, despite many appeals by their sponsors, the students steadfastly neglected to purchase tickets in advance for money raising projects. The best

that they would do was to purchase them a couple of days beforehand. They were also only moderately enthusiastic at selling either tickets or candy outside the school. As the end of the year approached it became urgent that they raise the money needed for their expenses. This resulted in a flurry of events in quick succession and the necessity to hold them on weeknights because the weekends were already booked.

There were at least two reasons for their reluctance to raise money early in the year for their class expenses. One of them was a very categorical statement by the coordinating sponsor that their assessments were not to be used for their class trip expenses. Rather, the money raised from their assessments would be used only for the expenses associated with graduation: class gift, honorariums for Baccalaureate and Commencement speakers, and so on.

Additionally, the extremely popular and influential school queen, Miss Carver, was a very vocal advocate of a tight fiscal policy. "If we are not going on a trip, if we're not going where we want to go, let's not raise any money," was the essence of her theme. When, at the end of the year, it was found that the rent of graduation gowns had increased by 50 cents, and that the organ which had in previous years been loaned would, this year, have to be

hired, it was she who led a noisy protest. Accusations
were widespread that the faculty had mis-apprpriated
their funds with the consequence that the principal
himself deemed it necessary to deliver a critical address
to them, which included not only the obvious reprimand,
but a counterattack in that of all the classes in the
school only they had not contributed significantly to
the school scholarship fund--and some of their members
would be the beneficiaries of it. Early in the year,
the subcommittee concerned with selecting the gift made
a choice which would have cost $300. This was, at the
public level, quickly and quietly dropped. The gift
ultimately chosen cost considerably less.

Yet, at the individual level, most had money in
their pockets on most occasions. As the dominant
members of another group, some seniors were planning
a dance: the third evening in as many days. A teacher
suggested that this "might be a bit too much," meaning
that too many people would be too tired to attend.
The group, however, unanimously interpreted the state-
ment as inferring that they would have insufficient
money to go out three nights in a row. Such an inference
was noisily rejected. On another occasion, a senior
youth enquired of a faculty member the name of the store
where his shirt had been purchased. The faculty member
replied that the lad couldn't afford to shop where he

did, resulting in the lad angrily displaying a wallet with a not small amount of cash.

It has been remarked that Carver was, fundamentally, an authoritarian school. Such a statement, however, was not true so far as the senior class was concerned. Certainly the coordinating sponsor chaired the homeroom meetings, but equally certainly the class president chaired all class meetings. This division of authority was adhered to so conscientiously that even when a discussion on a class matter took place in the homeroom, quite frequently the president would take over. Furthermore, despite the suggestion by the sponsors that the students should alter the venue for their trip, the resulting discussion was quite frank, and the final decision was that of the majority. On at least one occasion, the sponsor's advice was declined. Hence the fragmentation of the group that has been referred to, was not due to this factor. However, since the discussion of the National Honor Society, and the student council will also concern these same students, let us present the data from them before undertaking any interpretation.

The National Honor Society

The second source of material intended to give insight into the student culture is taken from the activities of the

extracurriculum. Students expressed the view that there were three reasons for joining an extracurricular activity group: because of those you liked (whether pupils or teachers), because the topic held some intrinsic interest for you, or because of the probability that the group would visit some other part of the state.

In the first case, the individual student inevitably did whatever his clique mates did. So prominent was this feature among the boys that the observer named the cliques by the activity group to which its members belonged. Thus there was the clique formed from members of the Future Business Leaders of America, or that consisting of members of the Vocational and Industrial Clubs of America.

As noted previously, several of the extracurricular activities were directly associated with the courses one took. Hence the activity had some interest to the student since most courses were electives. One effect of this was the duplication of membership in two activity groups. Thus many of the members of the Future Business Leaders of America were also members of Carver News, since the commerce teacher sponsored both, and they met on alternate weeks.

Only a minority of students admitted that the annual trip was a major reason for joining an activity group. Yet it was noticeable that the activity groups which were most

active and which had the largest memberships were those
that also had their annual trip, either to a state confer-
ence or for some other similar purpose.

As an example of the ways in which the extracurriculum
functioned, the National Honor Society was typical. The
members of this group were either seniors or juniors, and
eligibility was restricted to those with an overall average
of B or above. However, the individual student exercised
his own initiative in joining. He was not formally invited
to join by those who were already members.

During the first meeting of the National Honor Society
two key topics came up for discussion: dues and projects.
The students, over the protestations of their advisor, set
the membership dues at fifty cents per fortnightly meeting.
In addition a system of fines was instituted: for each
such impropriety as chewing gum during the meeting or
speaking out of turn, there was a five cent fine to be paid
at the conclusion of the meeting. During the course of one
meeting, the sponsor suggested that there was no need to pay
the fines, but the students still paid the fines assessed
by the sergeant at arms.

The group wanted two projects for the year, one within
the community and the other within the school. The decision
with respect to the former was to provide a Thanksgiving

basket, and to visit the retarded children's center at
Christmas time. Both of these were implemented, together
with a visit to the local hospital about Easter. The
suggestions for the school project included: conduct a
tutorial program, landscape one of the school quadrangles,
sponsor a school assembly, and serve as teachers' aides.
This last was in fact a suggestion made by the sponsor. No
consensus was reached early in the year concerning the nature
of the school project. At the end of January it seemed as
though the teachers' aide program was to be implemented, for
the student had proceeded as far as circulating a letter
to the faculty members to enquire whether they wished to
have assistance from the students. Slightly less than half
of the teachers replied in the affirmative. Considerable
discussion took place concerning the mechanics: hall
passes, gaining permission to absent oneself from lessons
and study halls, and contacting the teacher to be aided. In
the latter half of March the question again arose. The
students at this time distributed forms among themselves, to
indicate the periods during which each student could be
available. The forms were not returned.

None of the other topics received even that much
attention: the quadrangle project was not mentioned again
and neither was the assembly. At the meeting held late in

January, a report was requested on the tutorial program.
Its chairman reported that only one of the members (who was
absent) had volunteered to participate, and that she would
not do anything. Shortly afterwards, the nearby university
sponsored a tutoring service which at least minimized the
need for such a program.

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to relate the
gist of a conversation between two boys. One had been
asked if he would help the other complete a form. In
refusing to help the lad said that is was perfectly alright
to help neighbours within the community, but certainly not
wise to help others at school, or to help people whom you
only knew at school. He cited examples which served to
corroborate, from his point of view, the wisdom of this
opinion.

At one of the meetings the secretary complained at
having to supply her own paper, so the sponsor gave her
some--surplus dittoed copies of class work-sheets, some of
which had been written on and crumpled. The secretary
threw them all into the waste paper basket. The sponsor
asked why, and, when told, let the matter drop.

The reader possibly considers that the National Honor
Society was another instance of democratic processes within
the school. Such a view is perhaps justified because the

students had their way in levying their fines and paying
their dues. However, where the decisions concerning the
senior trip were proposed by the sponsors and freely debated
by the students, the decisions in the Honor Society were
characterized by a spirit of rebellion, and the introduction
of delaying tactics at each step. As was noticeable in the
instance of the teacher aide project, the students gained
their way by default, by just not doing anything at all.

The Student Council

The student council was comprised of a delegate from
each homeroom, with the exception of the senior class which
had two delegates, together with the executive committee.
Officially, meetings were to occur once each month for the
full council, and with the executive committee meeting
monthly also, but a fortnight before the general meeting.
However, things did not work out that way, for at least two
reasons. One was that the student council advisor refused
to permit meetings during the weekly activity period. It
was his opinion that councillors should participate in the
extracurricular program and this would have been impossible
if the council had met at the same time. The second reason
was the overcrowded school, for it was often difficult to

arrange a place for the council to meet. Their usual
meeting place became the lunch room.

Only five council meetings were held during the whole
year. Hence there was always much business, so that rarely
did anyone other than the advisor and the president have
the opportunity to make more than the briefest of comments.
In general, the meetings fell into three sections: the
first few minutes of opening ritual, conducted by the chaplain
and/or vice-president; the presentation by the president of
the decisions of the executive committee, usually in the
form of matters to be discussed, but without time for the
discussion and therefore as fiats of the executive; and a
lengthy monologue by the council advisor.

On one occasion, a council meeting was held during
lunch hour in the auditorium. No public address system was
used. Three points are of note. Firstly, the meeting
began before the sponsor arrived. There was no other teacher
present and, besides the fifty or so members of the council,
there were probably another fifty students whose official
assignment was study hall. These latter were scattered
about the auditorium and were seated in two loosely knit
clusters and as a collection of individuals. The president,
in opening her council meeting, appealed for the study hall
members to be quiet. They did not hear her, or, if they did,

assumed that she was merely calling the council to order.
She then walked into the body of the hall, and spoke quietly
to each of the two clusters. Immediately, they fell silent.
She then opened the council meeting, and called upon the
chaplain who led the members of the council in the Lord's
Prayer. The second noteworthy point is that almost all
members of the study hall also recited the Prayer.

Midway during the meeting the advisor arrived. Shortly
afterward the president offered him the floor. The third
feature is that almost immediately the general quietness
that had marked the study hall and council members until this
time gave way to general talk. Repeatedly, the advisor
called for quietness, and finally was forced to suspend one
councillor. Similar behavior had been noted at assemblies:
quietness while students or guests of the school were
speaking, noisiness and unrest when a faculty member began
to address them.

At its first meeting of the year, the delegates were
advised of the projects for the year: the sale of shakers
at the football games, the introduction of student identi-
fication cards, sponsoring jukebox dances in the gymnasium
after football games, the distribution of Thanksgiving
Baskets, conducting a Christmas Service, decorating the
bulletin board for Valentines Day, and operating a concession

stand for the basketball games. The president commented that the three major activities would be associated with homecoming, the student identification cards, and the spring elections.

In practice, the council ran a concession stand at the football games and ran the gymnasium dance after it. They also sold shakers at the Homecoming Game. The student identification cards were introduced, and the Thanksgiving baskets distributed. Miss Carver was crowned and treated as a queen at the Homecoming. The bulletin board was decorated suitably, not only for Valentines Day, but also for Negro History Week. The spring elections were conducted at their regular time. In addition, there were two cooky sales, morning tea and refreshments were provided for the representatives from local firms on Careers Information Day, the annual Student Government Day was held, and the annual picnic took place. The only items omitted from their preliminary plan were the Christmas Service and the concession stand at the basketball games, which was run by the senior class.

Before we conclude that the year was an unqualified success, however, we must examine each of these items more closely. The two most contentious items during the year were the sale of the identification cards and the cookies, for in neither case did the students respond as planned. With

regard to the first, most of the students duly had their photos taken for their identification card, but many then failed to pay for them. When school closed in June, there was a list of more than fifty names still attached to the notice board, including some half dozen seniors, who had not paid for their cards.

The reason for this reaction by the student was simple. They had been told that for entry to school events, such as dances, an identification card would be necessary. On only one occasion--the Student Council dance held on the evening of Student Government Day, which was held near the end of the year--were the cards mandatory. Further, students were assured that in some way cardholders would receive benefits in the extracurricular clubs. No such arrangement was ever made. One informant was asked did he have a card. "No. I didn't even have my picture taken. See, I've got this old one, taken five years ago. I've never been asked for it yet, so I figured they'd never use them this year either." On the day that the photographs were taken, the behavior of the students was fairly uniform: almost all male students wore sunglasses, many borrowing them for the specific moment when their photograph was taken. Few girls, on the other hand, wore them. They, however, spent many minutes ensuring that they looked their best.

Cooky distribution was, by school rule, made only after lunch hour had ended. The procedure was for each student to contract to sell a carton of twelve boxes, and return the money to the student council. He took his carton on credit. What often happened, of course, was that he and his friends would eat the contents themselves or he would sell them and spend the money instead of turning it in. Consequently, there was considerable difficulty in obtaining the cash from the students. As with the identification cards, at the end of the year, the council was still showing a loss on the cookies distributed six months previously.

Thanksgiving approached, with much talk by the council advisor about the large number of baskets that the students would bring for distribution. However, neither a general nor an executive committee meeting was called either to remind section delegates of what was expected or to plan for the distribution. When Thanksgiving Day came, there were four baskets--probably 10 percent of the expected number.

The annual elections for the council were scheduled for late April, so that nominations were to close in mid-March to allow candidates a full month in which to campaign. Because of the state-wide teachers' strike it was decided to extend the closing date for nominations for positions on the executive council by two weeks. This decision was made

by the three advisors to the council, at an executive committee meeting. The student members took no part in the accompanying discussion.

The nominating procedure was that any person whose academic qualifications were at least 'B' could stand for office. He did not have to be nominated by another student, but merely present himself as a candidate. When nominations closed, there were two candidates for president and one each for secretary and treasurer. In addition, there were three candidates for Miss Carver. All were girls. The Campaign Assembly was held, in which each candidate addressed the entire school. In their brief speeches all laid stress upon their personal character, the school extracurricular clubs to which they belonged and their qualifications for the position. Two of the candidates for Miss Carver also mentioned their church membership.*

During the year, and even after the campaign assembly, the advisor had spoken of the need to use voting machines, and of the election lasting two days so that students would have the opportunity of going to the polls during their own

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*This expression of interests was similar to the personal data that each of the Sweethearts provided when they were presented at the Coronation. Then each was introduced with reference to her parents and home address, church membership, school interests, academic standing, and her vocational preference. For most of the Sweethearts, this last could be described as quite realistic, for such vocations as beautician and teacher were by far the most common.

free time and so being free to vote, or not vote. When
the actual time came, however, voting took place by means
of ballot papers distributed and collected within a single
homeroom period. Homeroom teachers tallied the votes for
their own room and returned both used and unused ballot
papers and the tally sheets to the student council office.
All that remained was for the executive members to total
the results. This was accomplished by the end of the
second period. The executive committee sat and talked for
the next period, then all except the vice-president joined
their classes. The vice-president was hosting a lad from
another high school that day, and the couple remained
within the student council office for the entire day.

Those girls who had volunteered to serve as hostesses
for the visiting businessmen on Careers Information Day
were summoned to a meeting during the last period of the
previous day. The sponsor had them copy out the names of
the businessmen, and their interest, and the room in which
they would be found. Discussion then turned to the arrange-
ments for serving. Would there be a mobile booth, going
from room to room or would there be a central one to which
the representatives could go? No one could decide, and the
talk continued with neither purpose nor direction until the
end of the period. They were then dismissed with the

injunction to report to the council office after homeroom period the following morning, with the suggestion that something will work itself out then.

Student Government Day was held annually, shortly after the officers for the following year had been installed in office. The past president acted as principal for the day, the past vice-president acted as vice-principal, and other students volunteered to act in place of the teachers or administrators of their choice. Insufficient seniors volunteered, so that juniors were invited to do so.

During the day glimpses were gained of certain cherished desires of the students. One of the more important requests by the seniors was for a separate place in which they could assemble. As the faculty of the day they were looking forward to the provision of this facility, and a portion of the library was set aside for them. The gain was less than they had been promised, for the refreshments that they had been led to expect were absent. The only coke machines in the school were located in the faculty lounge, a place where the students were not permitted. Immediately the students realised that their lounge was merely a place to sit and talk, with no other facilities, they protested to their principal and her deputy. However, the only person who could remedy the situation was the council sponsor and he was off-campus for most of the morning. It was almost lunch time before he returned with their cool drinks and cookies.

A second bane of the school was the number of students in the halls. The reasons for this have already been provided. The rule of the school was that after the commencement of a lesson, no student was permitted in the corridors unless he gained the permission of his teacher, and carried some form of hall pass. Each room had something permanent that served as a pass. Officially it was a rectangular piece of plastic indicating the room number. In addition, each teacher also used some distinctive item from his or her room, such as a test tube rack or chalk-board set square, with the name of the room written on it. Occasionally the teacher would write the permission on a sheet of paper. About half the time, however, the students carried nothing. At certain times of the day, such as during first period or during the junior high school lunch hour, either a teacher or a student excused from his study hall would check passers by. On other occasions, no check was made. These checks were made at the intersection of the two main corridors, and served to catch the unwary. The more careful students could quite easily (and usually did) detour around the check point, thus taking twice as long to reach their intended destination. Frequently, also, while a faculty member was questioning one student, two or three others would walk past without challenge. (One's success in this venture depended upon the person on duty, for some were more lax than others, and upon that person's mood.) If students were on duty, it was noticeable that they questioned

every passerby: not merely those without hall passes. Their
reason was simple: we know that many students just take
hall passes from vacant rooms. Teachers were never observed
to question a student who did have a hall pass. Taken as a
whole, the chances of being caught for being in the halls
without a hall pass on a regular school day were comparatively
slight, and, consequently, the numbers willing to take the
risk were comparatively many.

What happened on Student Government Day when the
students ran the school? The number of students in the halls
at the different hours of the day varied little from on any
regular day. But: every student had a hall pass. When
the official ones ran out, student teachers arranged with
the student acting as dean of students for the issue of im-
provised ones. During the day, an appeal was made to those
seniors who were teaching to refrain from walking the halls
during their planning period. In general, after refreshments
were provided in their lounge, they did so. There was no
request that student teachers refrain from permitting other
students to enter the halls (even though this suggestion was
made by the researcher to the acting dean of students).

During the final period, there was a review of the day's
activity. Student teachers were astonished by the large
numbers of petty offences that had occurred. Examples of
these were that "he took my ruler," or "she called me names."
The dean of students also commented upon the large number of
students who arrived late for school or were sent to the

office during the day for arriving late at their classrooms. These were regular daily occurrences which, on the one hand, they as students had encountered only as an incident in their own rooms rather than on a school wide basis. On the other hand, they had always dismissed the faculty's references to these situations as grossly exaggerated and as just other attempts to improve their behavior. There was also reported a large amount of student insubordination to the student teachers. In the main, however, most pupils behaved within acceptable limits, and most student teachers enjoyed their day.

It was reported that each year the student council sponsored a picnic which was attended by a large section of the school. Usually, so it was said, the picnic was held at one of the state parks. During the year of observations the 'picnic' consisted of a barbecue held at the home of the past vice-president. Of the forty or so people invited, only twenty-one arrived, of whom five were teachers, nine were female students and three were male students. Although supposed to begin at four-thirty, it was almost an hour after that time before the sponsor of the council arrived with the drinks. He had wanted the event held at his home, but the very forceful vice-president had been adamant that it be held at her home. Ample food for at least forty had been purchased from council funds.

Thus we can perceive that what appears at first glance to have been a highly dynamic organization was, in fact, marked by very limited student participation in all areas of its activity. There are several reasons for this. The student council was teacher dominated. It met too infrequently and had too little power over matters in which the students were most interested. There were too few opportunities for meaningful student involvement, either during council meetings or in a follow-up capacity, as would have occurred had representatives been responsible to their electors. In a word, it provided too few opportunities for its members to act as, and receive recognition as individuals.

The Cultural Pattern

In Chapter IV it was concluded that Carver was a community school. Do the students behave as though this were so? The evidence available is unquestionably in the affirmative. To take merely the evidence from the National Honor Society: the only projects which they implemented took them out of the school and into the community. The projects mooted for implementation within the school failed to get beyond the discussion stage. Equally noticeable was the recital by the Queen candidates and the Sweethearts of their reference groups within the community.

We must not think, however, that Carver students are an unnaturally solicitous group. This is far from so. As an example that they lacked a degree of sensitivity to their community mores, we need only note that on the

morning following Dr. King's assassination, they had to be reprimanded for their noisiness. That same weekend an interclass boys' basketball competition was planned, and during homeroom on that very Friday morning, the senior class president was sufficiently a student and sufficiently insensitive to the community temper, to exhort his class-mates to flock to the gymnasium that evening. Despite this, on that same morning, students were unwilling to discuss the assassination with the observer. Once the importance of the event became clear to them there was no doubt that their attitudes were focused by the community rather than their own class grouping, as exemplified by their refusal to hold a money raising event during the following week.

In the previous chapter we noted that the students tended to respond immediately and to the superficial features of situations, that they were assertive and disunited, and that fundamentally all of these characteristics could be fitted within the context of American fun morality. Does the material of this chapter confirm this?

One of the most striking characteristics of these pupils is their sensitivity. On some occasions this was a sensi-tivity that amounted to touchiness, for they sometimes ignored nuances intended by the speaker in favor of alternative (but nonetheless legitimate) ones. Of the examples cited which illustrate this point perhaps the most vivid occurred when the teacher suggested that three consecutive nights out would be too much for most people, or the student's

reaction when told he could not afford to shop in a particu-
lar store. Such sensitivity does not limit itself to topics
which involve money. In particular, the students became
acutely observant of behavior that reflected inequality in
any way. Hence their refusal to be convinced by the principal
when he claimed that his teachers were fair in their alloca-
tion of rewards and punishments.

The importance of money is revealed not only in their
touchiness to any inference that they may be poor, but also
in their use of money. Here we can perceive three facets.
In the first instance, it actually is scarce. A significant
proportion of the school received free lunches. It is for
this reason that the school made its rule that cookies
could be sold only after lunch, thus attempting to ensure
that lunch money was in fact spent on lunch. This is one of
the basic reasons that cookies went unpaid for: students
bought them without their parents' knowledge. On the other
hand, and especially among the seniors, most did have money
but were reluctant to part with it for school matters. Thus,
one morning a teacher distributed a newsletter to his
section of the senior class. The members were grouped in
three categories: good, fair, and poor according to whether
they had paid all, part, or none of their monthly assessment.
Almost all of those in the latter two groups paid immedi-
ately.

This leads to the second point: since money is scarce, it must be husbanded and used 'wisely.' By this is meant not wisely in terms of the middle-class ethic of necessities before inconsequentials, but wisely in terms of the basic values of the Negro American culture. We saw from the literature and from the analysis of ritual that fun and immediacy are two of these basic values. Thus, to the seniors, the notion of paying money in November or January for an event that will not take place until June, runs quite counter to this basic principle. As the date of graduation drew nearer there was a flurry of events so that more cash could be raised, and an outburst of complaints as it became evident that money had to be diverted from the 'fun' side of graduation to its more serious elements.

Thirdly, the evidence that one who had money could give a measure of status. Herein lies the importance of the girls' wrangles over their dresses. Or, just as some students had enough money to spend freely, and just as some others were good students and could maintain their 'B' average, so to gain status one needed to be different from either of these groups. These students solved their dilemma by combining the two. In consequence, the National Honor Society was joined by those able students who could afford to do so. If invitations were extended it is possible that the real dimensions of status would have become more explicitly defined than they were, and could have led to a hardening of divisions within the class. As it was, the

National Honor Society was comprised of the real leaders
of the student body, yet in a way that did not sunder them
from their other clique mates. Since it, like all clubs,
met at most only fortnightly, there was ample opportunity
for other ties to be preserved. Yet it met sufficiently
often that, even when other avenues of contact failed, the
processes of student life were able to continue.

Just as these students were sensitive about monetary
matters, so too were they sensitive to the broader realities
of their lives. One lunch hour a senior lad was stopped in
the hall without a hall pass. He was grilled for some
fifteen minutes or so by the teacher concerned until he
finally admitted that he was wrong to leave the room without
also having requested the teacher to give him the hall pass.
During this time, several students walked past, obviously
lacking hall passes. Later he was asked what his reaction
was to this obvious inconsistency in the application of
school rules. His reply indicated that this was one of the
facts of life. Today he'd been unlucky and been caught.
Tomorrow he'd get by and someone else would receive the
admonition.

Whether it was with regard to the student identification
cards which they sensed would not be used, or noise and
presence in the corridors, or absences from regular classes,
these students were sufficiently sensitive to the real
situation that they were not really bothered by the seeming
inconsistencies that the observers noted. They realised

that there was a chain reaction, and that if their teachers were being strict with them, then quite certainly the teachers were under some form of pressure. This pressure might be a complaint from the county office to the principal, or it might be a result of the sheer overcrowding of the physical facilities, or it might be the lack of money suffered by the school and resulting in an inability to provide materials for them to use--or any other cause. The result was that while they might express hostility or anger at the time, in fact they were in sympathy with their teachers and realized that by and large most of them were doing their best under less than ideal circumstances.

This did not, of course, prevent them from evaluating their teachers in terms of the degree to which the teachers did try their best. The teacher who, midway during the year, did not know seniors from juniors in the class and who tolerated students sleeping in class was far less respected than the teacher who, whether the weather was calm or blustery, whether he was suffering from the 'flu or fresh from a vacation,' treated them exactly the same: firmly, tolerating no misbehavior, and with a determination that each should give of his or her very best during each and every lesson--even though he so loaded them with work that they usually had to work through their lunch hour to complete it. With this latter teacher, not only did they know where they stood, but they also knew that in the hard world of life education was a key, perhaps the only key, to escape from

their ghetto. His insistence on standards was perceived as being in their interests, and in consequence they respected him for this.

We must not neglect the values revealed when the students themselves had control of the school. Then we find them being consistent: every student with a legitimate reason from his personal point of view was given proof of his permission to be in the halls, regardless of how this affected the operation of the school. This is in sharp distinction to regular behavior where, to the student, one might have permission and no hall pass, or the opposite. Equally as important was the demand for a 'back area' in which to relax away from the continual supervision of the teachers. (Goffman 1959:112) The importance to the students of this privilege is apparent when we recall that during the teacher crisis, the senior class president was able to apply the power of his office and prevail upon the students to subordinate their individualism to the common welfare with reference to this specific topic.

They were honest enough with themselves to recognize that they were a fragmented and disunited class. Although the real leaders of the class were members of the National Honor Society, neither it nor the student council was a leadership organization of or for the school. There was none. Such unity as there was came from the more or less identical perception of the individual members: they came

from the same community, they had been to the same schools. Few of them had been to any high school other than Carver. Hence they had been reared in the same cultural mold and their reactions could be counted upon to be fairly consistent. But this did not make them united. Just as, during a homeroom period one student stood and concurred with the principal's charge that they were disunited, so later in private conversations did a cross-section of the class agree with her.

An example to illustrate this view occurred early in the year when the researcher was seeking a theme upon which to work. He suggested to some students whose school day ended at lunch time, and who did not work, that they might like to produce a yearbook. Not they! They had more important things to do--like talk with friends--than work on a class project. Another example occurred during the teachers' strike. Only the seniors were at school and the principal gave them permission to eat lunch in the lunchroom without the presence of teachers. This was one of the continuing pleas of the senior class, but was a privilege denied them because of the failure of the students themselves to act with propriety. In response to horseplay, the class president admonished them, pointing out the inconsistency between their wants and their present behavior, and predicting where it would lead. The students were incensed that one of their peers should attempt to tell them how to behave.

Or, while everyone might agree that for graduation one ought look one's best, there was difficulty in obtaining consensus on which clothes would look best on the majority. Each girl was sufficiently feminine that she did not wish to appear in clothes similar to her classmates. Thus there was a reluctance to concede that 'best for the group' might mean 'less than best for a particular individual.'

To a certain extent, such views were abetted by the faculty, a fact that the students realised when they expressed reluctance to help one another at school. Helping with lessons or homework or projects was frowned upon by the teachers. Neither were the extracurricular clubs observed to foster a group approach.

Individualism as a key to understanding these pupils is further exemplified by the way in which students responded when particular persons were named, and by the way in which students responded to individual approaches. Thus the president of the student council received no reaction when she requested the members of the study hall to be quiet, but was immediately heeded when her approach was more personal. The attitude of the students was such that they had become immune to being talked at, but remained responsive when talked to.

As so many of the oral messages beamed at them did not concern them, they had come to assume that if one did concern them they would learn about it, without having listened to a public announcement. As the probability was high that

nothing relevant would occur during homeroom, they were late. As they would get little benefit from becoming teachers' aides, so the program was irrelevant and never implemented. Why pay for one's student identification card when, even at public football matches or basketball games, one could gain entry at student rates without it? Why join extracurricular clubs, if the teacher is going to quash what the students want to do? To the extent that this took place, so during the year did the membership dwindle.

Thus we find from an analysis of the daily life of the school a confirmation of the principles exhibited in ceremonies. The students are more likely to implement projects that affect the community than those which involve their school. We also have further evidence for our expectation of disunity among the students themselves and of their tendency to react immediately to stimuli.

In the previous chapter we could find no evidence to support a suggestion that the world is perceived as exploitive. In this chapter, however, evidence has been presented which is quite explicit on this point: the student accusations that their financial contributions were being used by their teachers for the private ends of the latter. Furthermore, we noted the reluctance of the National Honor Society members to engage in school-related projects, such as teachers' aides which were observed to be the suggestion of the teachers. Such projects would benefit the teachers, but were not

perceived as being relevant for the students' own interests. Hence such projects were perceived as being exploitive and irrelevant.

Thus, a world that is aggressive and exploitive and immediately impinging, requires that one become sensitive and that one ask of it: to what extent and in what way will this affect me? The question which results for the researcher is: is this an individual me, or a group 'me,' an us? The answer is clearly provided by the data. In this chapter we have noted that it was up to the individual to offer for office, and that if someone was willing, why should others offer to do the same job. We also noted that one did not interfere with one's personal affairs to work on behalf of the group. Hence we find much evidence for the view that this is an individualistic culture. Such a culture was defined by Mead as being one "in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others." (1961:16)

Summary

Material has been presented to reveal the character of the senior class homeroom, the national honor society, and the student council. It was shown that the senior class were frequently criticised for being disruptive and disunited, and that their meetings were usually concerned with matters pertaining to the events associated with their graduation. From the discussion of these topics it became

apparent that while the seniors were reluctant to spend money upon their graduation, they were sensitive to any imputation that they were poor. They were also shown as being sensitive to the realities of the school in which they were being educated. This appreciation of reality did not prevent them desiring and appreciating the opportunities for privacy, as we saw in their pleasure at being alone in the school during the teachers' strike and in their demand for a meaningful student lounge.

The National Honor Society and the homeroom situation provided the first evidence that these students are sensitive to being exploited by those more powerful than they. Moreover, the projects that the activity groups implemented provided evidence that the students are receptive to the importance of the wider community.

From the analysis of the activities of the student council, it first appeared that this was a dynamic and successful organization. However, closer analysis revealed little student participation and that few of the many activities engaged in during the year experienced unqualified success. Among its activities for the year was Student Government Day when students ran the school for a day. This permitted the students to express their most important wishes: a private area where they could be free from constant teacher surveillance and its corrollary of freedom to walk the halls with permission.

Hence it was possible to conclude that the students in their everyday activities to react to a world that they perceive as being immediately impinging, exploitive, and aggressive to them. In consequence they ask of it: what is the relevance of this situation for me? The result is an individualistic culture in which the members are themselves volatile and aggressive and seek fun and privacy.

CHAPTER VI

THE STUDENT CULTURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

In this concluding chapter, the task is to draw
together the knowledge we have gained of the student sub-
culture at Carver High School. In so doing we shall repeat
the questions formulated in the first chapter, and provide
their answers. Having done this, we shall then discuss the
meaning of these findings for the school's program of
extracurricular activities.

Answers to the Original Problem

The original question posed for the study was to make
explicit the student culture of George Washington Carver
High School. Earlier, culture was defined as the particular
patterning of the activities of the students in space and
time and in relation to the other elements occupying the
same environment. In order to answer this question, six
more specific questions were posed.

> 1. What are the statuses found within the school,
> what are the sociological characteristics of
> each, and what is the nature of the relation-
> ship among them?

There are two answers to this question, one which tells
us the ideal, intended, and planned pattern of relations,
and the other which tells what actually happens in practice.

As defined by their advisors, the student associations have a structure that might be termed orthodox. There is a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, business officers, chaplain, and parliamentarian for almost all student organizations. These positions were filled either by election or appointment. For each student association there is also a sponsor or advisor who is a member of the faculty.

In practice, the students adopted a far simpler structure. Usually the interaction was between president and members only. Where further differentiation was required, committee chairmen were appointed for specific tasks. They, too, initiated directly to those present. There was rarely any attempt to differentiate those present into subgroups. When such differentiation did occur, attempts were made to include all members of the audience. Thus, in practice there were three statuses evident in student associations: president, member, and sponsor.

The characteristics of the status holders were found to be consistently the same for all positions. The most obvious characteristic was that of sex. With very few exceptions, all executive positions were occupied by girls in the activity groups, the student council, or the year-class committees. Another characteristic of the executive officers was that they were usually seniors or juniors. Thus the leaders of the student body were the girls from the junior and senior year-classes.

However, particular office holders possessed status in only a limited number of situations: usually only one situation. Hence, unlike the faculty where some individuals maintained a consistent status in each gathering, no such comparability was found among the students. For instance, the president of the student council was merely another member during meetings of the senior class; the president of the senior class was not even a member of the student council. Thus it was the case that occupying a position in one situation was of no immediate relevance for the holder's status in other situations. Such an arrangement reflects the basic egalitarianism that existed among the students.

When interacting in set events, one of two patterns prevailed. Either the president initiated to the audience and the sponsor, or the sponsor initiated to the president and the audience. It was shown that in the majority of cases the highest status was that of the sponsor, since meetings were held when he summoned them, the decisions agreed upon were those that he submitted, and the meetings were dominated by him. It was observed that the factor which established tangency between several activity groups and their sponsor was not the purpose of the group, but the content of the course taught by the sponsor. This was likely to be so if the object of the activity period interrupted a lesson and the teacher and pupils did not change. However, this did not occur for all activities, and some sponsors were in truth the 'advisors' of their group.

It was further found that formally structured pair or set events which enabled initiation by the students to the faculty were lacking. The pair events that did permit such initiation were always within the context of a set event in which the dominance of the faculty member was clear. It was suggested that teacher dominance served to both preserve and reflect their superior status. Only two exceptions were noted: the democratic relations reported in senior class meetings and in meetings of the Vocational and Industrial Club of America.

The fact that many of the extracurricular activity groups and most of the events arising from them were dominated by the faculty prevented the emergence of stable patterns of student interaction within set events. The faculty, by maintaining control of the set events, ensured that the students were unable to interact among themselves in set events with sufficient frequency to achieve a stable rate of interaction. Hence the pattern of relations among students remained at the clique level.

The extracurricular activities and the student sponsored events held at night were coordinated by the faculty. The resulting lack of some form of student committee to bring together representatives from all student groups had two effects. Firstly, there was little opportunity for the development of intermediate statuses. Thus chairmen initiated directly to the members. Secondly, the faculty control of the extracurriculum and the lack of student institutions operated jointly to result in the non-emergence of a student association.

2. What are the antecedent conditions which lead to interaction? If these conditions recur, do the same patterns of interaction recur?

The types of conditions that led to interaction in set events were three: ceremony, decision making, and entertainment. Ceremonial events, as one would expect from the relevant theory, were characterized by an implementation of the theoretical and planned structure of the school. This revealed that the faculty was superior in status to the students. As reported earlier, there was reluctance on the part of the faculty officiants to permit students to initiate to their superiors during set events.

The pattern of relations revealed in decision making events varied. On some occasions it was student dominated, on others it was faculty dominated. The only relationship found between the topics of decision making and the characteristics of the dominant status reflected upon the status symbols of the individual member. Where the group was dealing with a topic that reflected upon the status of the individual, the student group resisted dominance of the group by the sponsor. If, on the other hand, the status of the group was at issue, no such resistance was offered.

The pattern of relations revealed by entertainment events was always the same as in the related decision making event. Thus, as a faculty member suggested the Mock Wedding, so that person was the chief initiator to the entertainers during the event. The entertainers, of course, initiated to the audience.

With recurring events, such as the successive meetings of the Carver News staff or of the student council, no changes in the pattern of relations were observed. That is to say, it was not observed that on one occasion a sponsor was dominant, and on another occasion was permissive of student control. The senior class meetings were invariably conducted by the class president; the sponsor of the Carver News always permitted the editor to attempt to conduct the meeting but always resumed control herself within a few minutes.

3. What are the relations between the pattern of interaction and the time of the event: day or night, seasonal or crisis?

The only set event that occurred during school hours which was not concerned with educational matters was the Christmas Assembly. In those set events involving both faculty and students, the topic was one of three kinds. Firstly, they involved decision making, as occurred during class meetings. The second type of event was educational, as in lessons. The third type were assemblies with programs emphasizing the 'high' cultural heritage of the Negro American: his expertise and expressiveness in music or poetry, for instance. It was found that this last type of event served the same purpose as did the ceremonies which functioned as Rites of Intensification. These Rites were focused on the community rather than on merely the school. Two events held during the day were associated with the ceremonies encompassing

Rites of Passage. These were the Inauguration Assembly and the assembly for Senior Awards Day.

The ceremonial events, and one of the assemblies that served an enrichment function, included persons who were not members of the school. They were incorporated into the event as community representatives. At least one member of the community was given the opportunity to initiate to the students during such events. Hence this person became an officiant along with the faculty on these occasions.

Within each day the pattern of events was given rhythm by the student's personal timetable. For some students the extracurricular activity period interrupted a two or three period block. It was found that this feature of timetabling was associated with increased clique activity and a consequent disruption to the set events.

Set events that occurred at night were observed to fall into two categories. One category attracted few faculty members, few community representatives, and a majority of student-aged people. It was found that these events usually charged an admission fee, and were designed to entertain. The group who organized these events was always identified.

The other type of night event was found to have characteristics similar to day events held outside regular school hours. These events were attended by large audiences which were representative of the entire community. Many faculty attended them, as did many students. They were free, and were designed to serve a specific cultural purpose.

Representatives of all sections of the school were involved in their organization. The interaction within them was governed by a clearly defined ritual. It was decided that these were ceremonies which served as Rites of Intensification and/or as Rites of Passage. The only clearly definable Rites of Intensification were the events associated with Homecoming and the school service for the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Rites of Passage were held for the installation of the newly elected and appointed officers of the student council and for the graduating senior class. There were four separate events associated with the latter.

'Crises' within the school itself, such as resumption after vacation, or before vacation, or for an exceptional occurrence such as the teachers' strike, were not occasions for face to face set events involving students.

Thus we see that decision making events occur by day, whereas ceremonial events occur by night. Entertainment events intended as profit making ventures occur at night, while entertainment that is educational in character occurs during school hours.

4. What is the relation between the pattern of activity, and the behavior setting in which the event occurs?

It was shown that in some behavior settings it was difficult to achieve the purposes of the group using them. In such settings, those clique members who were gathered together continued to interact among themselves after the meeting was called to order. It was observed that in such

situations the advisors tended to be dominant. Further, among the students in attendance, formally defined status differences disappeared and individual equality prevailed. The specific features of the behavior setting which fostered the breakdown of set events were those associated with noise and seating patterns. If the setting prevented the president and the members from communicating easily, either because of background noise or because of poor acoustics, clique activity tended to disrupt the activity of the set event. A similar result occurred if the seating patterns were such that members of the audience were distant from, had their backs to, or were otherwise out of the range of vision of the chairman.

It was found that if a recurring set event, such as the meeting of a club, met in a different venue then the usual pattern of interaction changed. An example of this was the senior class meeting held in the gymnasium instead of the auditorium. Such a change led particularly to a change in the pattern of clique activity.

> 5. What is the relationship between the pattern
>   of interaction observed in one setting, and
>   that observed in another?

This question was specifically designed to relate the previous questions to specific types of activity. It was directed toward the various student activities within the school, of which there were three major types: those related to the senior class, those of the extracurriculum, and those of the student council. It was found that in all three types of activity the same egalitarian status prevailed

for all members of the audience, that is, those to whom the president initiated. It was found that only the chairman was always differentiated from the group.

No position was found within the structure of student activities which served to coordinate those activities. This resulted in those persons who were status holders in one situation being ordinary members in another situation, which fostered equalitarian relationships.

Another noteworthy feature was that the executive officers of the extracurricular activity groups, the student council, and the class meeting were predominantly girls. It was shown that, contrary to popular belief, the presidency of the student council was a position lacking in power. It was occupied by a girl. On the other hand, the senior class presidency was an office of considerable power and also provided its occupant with public recognition. This was the only position among all those of the extracurricular activity groups that guaranteed its occupant the exercise of power and public recognition. It was occupied by a boy.

Although the school was structured on a formal year-class organization with, for most students, annual promotion from grade 7 through the senior classman, this differentiation was limited to only the academic activities. Even these, in the senior section of the school, were confounded by the practice of forming lesson groups from students enrolled in each of the three grades 10, 11, and 12. Thus there was no structured means by which the more senior

pupils were accorded increased status. This was reflected, until the year of the study, by the non-mention of grade level among the qualifications for office in the student council. Their recent introduction reflects the expressed desire of the students for such recognition.

    6. How do the actors perceive their world, and what effects does this perception have on their behavior?

The most visible feature is the egalitarian approach to interaction. At first glance it appears that all are equal, and that this is their desired status. However, closer analysis reveals that their attitude is less one of egalitarianism than it is individualistic. Egalitarianism implies a willingness to subordinate one's personal interest in the interests of the larger group. That was something these students refused to do. Their life, and their subcultural mores (if the literature of the Negro American is applicable to this group) has taught them unity and groupness are to be avoided, and that, traditionally, safety has been found in being an isolate.

Egalitarianism also implies a desire to avoid prestige for its own sake, but to be willing to accept responsibility. These students were the opposite. It was the desire for prestige which caused these students to react more favorably to projects that involved their community than they did to ones which concerned the school only. Projects within the community would possibly bring prestige and recognition. Projects within the school probably would not. Responsibility appeared not to be sought, but there were few positions of

real responsibility for them to seek, and there were other reasons for their avoidance of the positions of token responsibility that were available. These included the tendency of teachers to dominate the extracurricular activities and the reluctance of other students to accept the leadership of the president.

As the researcher gained familiarity with the events, it became evident that the students were acutely aware of their status relative to the other participants of the events. From the literature we learn that Negro Americans perceive their world as immediately impinging upon them, and as aggressive and exploitive of them. From the evidence presented in this report we have noted that the students of this school act in ways that confirm that they share this world view. They react immediately and assertively to the surface features of stimuli. They reacted in ways that revealed their expectation that their teachers would exploit them.

Since the students see the world as tending to act towards them in these ways; since they are from the less privileged strata of society, they have learned to interpret events in terms of their status. Hence, they are sensitive to the realities of the situation, and its relevance for the group in general and, particularly, for the specific, individual 'me.' As a result the students evaluate both the education they receive, and the teachers that impart it, in terms of its relevance for changing their social positions.

If they believe that their position will be improved by the impingment, they will adapt to it and accommodate themselves to it. If they believe it will disparage their present status they will resist it. Hence, just as we saw status involvement being partly responsible for the faculty dominance of the extracurriculum, so we now see that status involvement is also a fundamental factor in student behavior.

Although the students behave in an individualistic manner and in ways that are intended to at least maintain their social status, they also have another goal: to have fun. It was shown that the students were more interested in those events and organizations that were conducive to entertainment of any kind than to those which were oriented towards the provision of services within the school. There was evidence that if the choice was between fun now, and investment for fun later, the spontaneous choice was for the former.

However, from a survey of the literature, it was concluded that the unifying feature of the Negro American view of the world was an interest in fun. A culture that values fun is one in which the most valued activities are those that serve no ulterior purpose but merely amuse or entertain and focus the participant's attention on the event itself. This does not appear to be the case in the present instance. Although having fun is important, it is not the most important guide to behavior. We saw that the students

chose to engage in service projects within the community where prestige could be gained. They consistently behaved in ways that were designed to preserve their "good standing" among their peers, even when this meant paying scarce money immediately, or refraining from banter, jest, and pranks. Thus, when the choice is between fun, on the one hand, and status preservation or status enhancement, on the other hand, the latter prevailed. The lack of an opportunity to develop institutional relationships has its major impact at this point, for instead of cooperating to maintain their collective status, they remain a collection of individuals, each concerned with preserving his individual status.

Thus, to this researcher, the students at Carver High are acutely sensitive to their world and its relevance for them. It has taught them to be individualistic and assertive in the preservation of their present status. From it they want, in the immediately foreseeable future, to have fun and to improve their status.

Student Culture and the Extracurriculum

The extracurriculum will now be discussed in terms of the features of the student culture that have been delineated. Perhaps the most striking feature of any activity period at Carver High School was the small percentage of pupils who participated. In one sense, this was not surprising, for it is a widely known fact that as school size increases, so the percentage of participants in the extracurricular

activities decreases. A similar effect has been observed where the students are members of the lower socioeconomic classes, as those from Carver appeared to be. At Carver High School there were many other reasons for this lack of participation.

The Activity of Activity Period

When one asked the students why they spend activity period as they did one of the most readily given reasons was that "I go where my friends go," or words to that effect. To the students, activity period was one in which to socialize. Hence one spent one's time where this could best occur.

If the extracurriculum was less conducive to socializing than the alternative activity, what was the alternative? Study Hall. However, it is obvious that if one could socialize in a study hall, then little actual study must take place. This was so. One of the basic reasons was that during activity periods the study hall group was a group with no central focus. It was based neither on lesson content nor on homeroom, but merely on an approximately equal number of students. In general, the supervisors were tolerant of all but extreme misbehavior. This meant that the students could please themselves what they did. Hence, to them study hall became equivalent to the extracurriculum as a way in which to spend the activity period.

Within the extracurricular activity groups themselves, quite often little was accomplished. One of the reasons for this was that there were few groups that followed a standard guide for the conduct of meetings. Most merely had a standard order of business without a formal agenda. The result was that there was some lack of direction to meetings, with the consequence that the real purpose of the meeting was often not reached.

Together with this there was the lack of clearly defined goals for the groups. Meetings often assembled with everyone hoping that someone else would be able to suggest an activity for the day. Such meetings often completed their business quickly, and were then at a loss for something to do. General socializing followed.

As we saw, the National Honor Society drew up plans that were successfully implemented. These were ones that took the students into the community. This same group failed to accomplish projects within the school. A similar dichotomy was shown with regard to the student council. Hence, it is apparent that the students prefer projects which enable them to work in the community, in preference to ones that confine them to the school. Few groups, however, had the opportunity to engage in such projects. As there was little else to engage the interest of the students, they spent the period wherever they could socialize best.

Furthermore, the students themselves often did not know which groups were meeting, or where. They also lacked a

knowledge of possible alternative things to do, whether it be specific projects for existing activity groups or new types of projects which would lead to new groups within the extracurriculum. In part this lack of information resulted from the method used to disseminate information: via the public address system. It was shown that because so many messages were irrelevant to any particular student, then they simply did not listen to them.

The Impact of the Behavior Setting

One of the major reasons that the extracurriculum achieved so little is that the behavior settings were unsatisfactory. There were a number of ways in which these exerted an influence. Firstly, the school had imposed upon it a daily timetable which involved two starting and two finishing times. It had imposed upon it a regulation which required all bus travellers to depart at specific times. These two features prevented the school from holding the extracurriculum near the end of the day.

The school was moderately overcrowded, a feature most noticeable in the lunchroom which could accommodate less than three hundred students. Hence two lunch hours were necessary. The activity period followed the second lunch hour. This meant that those who had their lunch during first lunch hour had this as a somewhat 'relaxed' period (officially divided between lunch and study hall) followed by a period of work, followed by an activity period in which one socialized.

Frequently the intervening period of work was not used gainfully. Hence there was, for many pupils, a lengthy period of under-activity prior to activity.

In addition, one of the school's regulations was that pupils must spend the entire day in formal activity: lesson, lunch, or study hall. There was no official free period in which they could leave the building and talk or play among themselves. It was observed, however, that during period change, or during study hall, that they would engage in talk, and that they would delay going to a lesson in order to speak with an acquaintance. Hence, when there was little to do during activity periods they tended to 'make up for lost time.' They saw activity period as one in which to engage in the socializing that they could not engage in during lunch hour.

Another feature of the behavior setting was the unreliable system of signalling period changes. The bells were frequently late, which meant that the next period was shorter than it should have been. Teachers were observed to cease formal teaching a few minutes early. Students used this few minutes for talking. Hence they entered the corridors noisily.

These features of the school as a behavior setting help explain why the pupils arrived at meetings of the extracurricular activity group in a restless manner which was not conducive to their being business-like during meetings. There were also features of the behavior settings

themselves that abetted, and even exacerbated, this tendency.
Among them was the overcrowded nature of some rooms, so
that work was impeded. Other settings interfered with the
process of communication between leaders and members. Such
features included the presences of disruptive noise in the
background, poor acoustics, and the fact that members were
sometimes out of the chairman's range of vision. When any
of these conditions were present, it was observed that the
members of the activity group tended to be talkative, and
inattentive to the chairman.

Teachers and the Extracurriculum

It was shown, also, that several of the extracurricular
activities were closely related to the activities of the
curriculum. This resulted in the extracurricular groups
being tangential to the lesson groups. This was because
the lesson teacher was the advisor to the activity group.
The effects of this were heightened when the activity period
interrupted a two or three period lesson. In such cases,
figuratively speaking, everyone must change roles, but not
their seats. Hence the students looked upon the extra-
curriculum as merely an extension of the formal curriculum.
We saw that the latter was sometimes considered to be
irrelevant to the students' own interests. Hence the extra-
curriculum was sometimes seen as irrelevant also.

The close connection between lesson and activity
fostered teacher dominance of the activity. Probably all

teachers conscientiously tried to avoid this type of behavior. However, it was apparent that the unsettling effects of the behavior setting often necessitated the intervention by the teacher in order to regain control. It was suggested that it probably involved less effort to retain control of the group, than to relinquish such control to a student and then have to bring the group back to order again.

Another reason for some of the observed teacher dominance was considered to be the status of the teacher. Because they have become habituated to playing the dominant role in the regular classroom set event, it is often difficult for teachers to relinquish this type of relationship in different set events which involve the same participants. Perhaps another way in which the teachers' status becomes involved is peculiar to this type of setting. The Negro American community affords its members few opportunities to be different from one another and few opportunities to exercise power vis-a-vis each other. The teacher at school does have such an opportunity. It is to be expected that some teachers will be reluctant to change this type of relationship with the pupils. This will especially be the case if the teacher believes that in regular lesson events the pupils will wish to continue the more egalitarian relationship of the activity period. Regardless of the reason, it was observed that each teacher was consistent throughout the year in his relationship with the extracurricular activity group.

Teacher supervision of the extracurriculum also helped prevent the emergence of institutional relations among the students. The effort of this was that the students did not develop strong leadership, or its concomitant, a willingness to accept leadership. Instead, the relations among members were marked by the individualism that occurs in cliques. Since the activity group functions primarily to foster socializing, clique relations are well suited to the actual purpose of the group, as its members perceive that purpose.

The teachers dominated the extracurriculum in ways other than by controlling the actual meetings. Before an extra-curricular activity group could be formed a teacher had to volunteer to sponsor it. Throughout the year, the activity groups met only if there was nothing else to interfere. The extreme was, as we noted, the student council which had no regular meeting time at all. Further, if the activity group decided to hold an event, the administrators of the school were required to grant their approval. Thus we conclude that the students saw the extracurriculum as something serving the purposes of the school, rather than as something serving their own interests.

It was remarked that the students are likely to perceive others as seeking to exploit them. It appeared that the students perceived the extracurriculum as sometimes fostering conditions whereby teachers could exploit the students. Such an interpretation was probably the last that the sponsor had in mind when suggesting a teacher's

aide program. But the reluctance of the club members to implement it suggests that that was how they perceived it. More generally, the suggestion by the sponsor of a project within the school would, from the data presented in this study, at least cause the students to ask of it what does the faculty get out of this? What do I get from it? His experience has taught him to be cautious. One avoids this sort of issue by not participating in the extracurriculum.

The Students and the Extracurriculum

Many of the extracurricular activities were viewed by the students as being irrelevant. As we have seen, the students were individualistic, with two basic goals. The lesser one was to have fun, while their more fundamental purpose was concerned with the maintenance or improvement of their present status. Those activities that were intended to provide services for the remainder of the school, or which were closely allied with the regular curriculum were often considered to be irrelevant, since such activities were not conducive of fun. As a general rule, those activities that were likely to foster fun were the ones with the largest membership. Fun, in these cases consisted of such things as a special dinner, or a trip to the state fair, or to the organization's state convention.

The activities which gave the individual an opportunity to appear in public were also esteemed by the students.

Such public appearances occurred when the organization's delegates attended the state convention, or when public institutions were visited.

To the extent that there was little likelihood of the organization providing them with fun, so the membership dwindled during the year. If they perceived the sponsor being disinterested in the group, or dominating it in a way which was similar to a classroom lesson, they also became disinterested. However, where the sponsor was perceived as acting in ways that disparaged the individual member's status, so they acted in concert to resist. This resistance took the form of a cultural mode of response, which everyone knows, rather than a planned, cooperative action.

As the activities of the extracurriculum could be relied upon to be similar each year, the students knew from one year to the next what the basic program would be like. Hence they did not join. As the activities which appeared promising at the beginning of the year failed to live up to expectations, then they tended to drop out and go elsewhere.

What is the reason that boys shun positions of leadership at Carver High? Undoubtedly a major reason lies in the generally accepted statement that "The extracurriculum is for the girls. We men have our athletics." However, when one considers the number of athletes in the school, in comparison to the number of boys, one must ask about the remaining boys. For this and the other reasons given

above, only a minority of students, whether boys or girls, participate in clubs. Unless one participates, he cannot become a leader. Hence these reasons are also applicable to this question.

The most important reason, however, is that the various positions of leadership have no power. At best one leads the members of one's own group—thirty or forty students—for a single period every two weeks. They are the only ones who can recognize the leadership that one gives—and they are one's highly individualistic peers. The range of activities for the group are limited. The most important event of any activity group appeared to be the trip to the state convention, which occurred only once for any club, and for some clubs did not occur at all. Furthermore, the decisions of even the fortnightly meeting are, if they involve events, subject to faculty veto. Thus the benefits of leadership are few.

In return one must, to be successful, somehow unite a group of people each highly sensitive to his or her personal status and unwilling to subordinate personal interests for the welfare of the group. One might, for example, need a ticket seller at the door—but that is not as much fun as being inside participating in the event. So the door goes unattended, and the ticket seller has fun. There is the added 'cost' of maintaining order during a meeting of individuals who are your peers and who will not willingly tolerate the assertion of rank by an elected president who volunteered for the position.

In addition, there is the problem of working with the sponsor, especially if he or she is inclined to be dominant by nature, or the conditions under which the group meet foster such behavior by the sponsor. In this respect, the code of Negro youth culture is probably little different from the general youth culture, which decrees that boys should remain more aloof from their teachers than girls. Thus it is easy to realize that the costs outweigh the rewards, with the result that the boys forego positions of leadership.

Thus we may conclude and summarize by stating that the extracurriculum is not perceived by the students of Carver High School as being relevant to their purposes, which are to enhance their status and have fun. Since the activities which offer these opportunities are few, the membership restricts itself. The tendency of some sponsors to retain control of the activity group and the difficulties created by the behavior setting result in activity group meetings achieving less than they might have. The students consequently find limited opportunities to become involved in the program in ways that they consider to be meaningful.

APPENDICES

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS AND ASSEMBLIES

The following events are referred to in the main body of the study.

Athletic Assembly: This was an assembly held to enable a visiting Negro American athlete to address the school students.

Baccalaureate Service refers to the religious service held in the school auditorium as a part of the graduation ceremonies for the senior class.

Campaign Assembly refers to the assembly held to enable the student body to be addressed by those who volunteered to seek election to an executive position on the student council.

Careers Information Assembly was held during Careers Information Week. It was designed to provide students with an opportunity to learn about several of the careers available within the community, and the educational requirements for these.

Christmas Assembly was a repeat performance for the students of the Christmas Concert. It occurred on the last school day before the Christmas vacation.

<u>Christmas Concert</u> was a presentation of the Music Department featuring all of the choral groups within the school.

<u>Class Night</u> refers to the event in which the graduating senior class bids farewell to the school.

<u>Commencement Ceremony</u> is the actual graduation ceremony for the senior class, at which they received their high school diplomas.

<u>Coronation Ball</u> was the dance which followed the Coronation of the School Queen.

<u>Coronation of the School Queen</u> refers to the event at which the school queen was formally installed. At the same event the Sweethearts elected by the various student groups in the school were presented to the audience.

<u>Cultural Enrichment Assemblies</u> were a series of assemblies held to permit the students to see and hear performances in the fine arts of dance, drama, and music.

<u>Green and Gold Dance</u> was a dance conducted by the student council. Unlike regular dances, admission was by presentation of a student identification card rather than by payment of an admission charge.

<u>Hi Y Assembly</u> was held to permit a representative of the Hi Y organization to address the boys.

<u>Homecoming Game</u> is that football game held at the time when former graduates return to the school for a reunion.

<u>Homecoming Parade</u> refers to the annual parade by the school representatives.

Inauguration Assembly was held to transfer the insignias of office from the retiring officers of the student council to those officers who had been elected at recently held elections.

Pep Rally refers to the event held on an evening shortly before the Homecoming Game and which was intended to foster group morale and team spirit.

Senior Awards Day assembly was that one of the graduation ceremonies at which the individual students received certificates, medals, scholarships, and other tokens as a reward for meritorious performances in various aspects of school life.

Student-Faculty Basketball Games refer to the games played between faculty and students and witnessed by the students. Two games were played: one by the males, the other by the females.

Student Government Day refers to the day on which the students played the roles of the adult members of the staff ranging from principal to custodian or kitchen-aide.

Television coverage of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s funeral service was witnessed by the school. This event was preceded by a brief ceremony conducted by the principal over the school public address system. For purposes of discussion, the two aspects have been regarded as a single event.

Vocational Assembly was held during Careers Information Week with the intention of boosting student interest in the less academic and more practically oriented courses.

ENTERING THE FIELD, AND RECORDING AND
ANALYZING THE DATA

The choice of George Washington Carver High School as
the site for this study was purely fortuitous. The re-
searcher had intended working in a quite small rural
community, on a somewhat different topic until the press
of other events made it necessary for him to do his field
work in the same city as that in which he lived. Conse-
quently, he visited the school and was interviewed by the
dean of curriculum. At that meeting were two other members
of the school faculty: the dean of students and the
sponsor of the student council, as well as one of the
researcher's advisors from the university.

The dean of curriculum outlined the programs of the
school and was, in turn, advised of the researcher's
personal background and times when he could be available.
As a result, it was suggested by the dean of curriculum that
the researcher might find a means of accomplishing his
purposes if he assisted in launching the school's extra-
curricular program. Also working in the school at this time
was another researcher--a woman--whose role was that of
assistant to the sponsor of the student council. At the

time of this meeting the researcher had merely a vague idea
of his goal: to use the technique of participant observation
to discover the student subculture of this particular Negro
high school. Later, as his ideas became more clear and his
purposes more definite, he communicated these to the dean
of curriculum and those other teachers with whom he came in
contact.

The first few visits to the school were rushed ones.
This was a result of the researcher's own timetabled
commitments as an instructor and of the fact that the times
for period changes at the school did not coincide with those
where he was teaching. During these visits four female
teachers of the school and the two researchers, with some
assistance from the dean of students and the student council
sponsor, did the planning of the year's extracurriculum.
No students were involved in this preparation.

The planning was completed a fortnight after the
researcher's first visit. The extracurriculum was then
introduced. During the first activity period the two re-
searchers walked around the halls to ascertain how many stu-
dents were participating and to attempt to help if there
was any unexpected confusion.

The following week, on the next activity day, the
researcher returned again, and observed a group in operation.
On this occasion he wore a distinctive blazer and tie with
the hope that the casual observer might assume him to be a
visitor rather than a newly arrived faculty member. At the

conclusion of the activity period he stood in the corridor striking up a conversation with some students to whom the background of the researcher was made explicit. When they went to class he met another lad who proved to be a senior who was engaged in a practical, outdoor lesson. The youth willingly entered into conversation and was quite amenable to being accompanied to his lesson area. There the students were preparing a float for Homecoming and a skit for the Pep Rally. During a lull in the activity of the latter, the researcher quickly introduced himself saying, "My name is Colin Balmer. I am an Australian and I'm a student at the university. I am hoping to work with the students of your school. I do not know yet how I can help, or who I will be with. But if I can help you in any way, I shall. Please call me Colin."

One student responded by giving his name and shaking hands. The researcher was immediately quizzed by the remainder about specific roles: teacher, counsellor, and clerk, to all of which a negative reply was given. He then said, as simply as possible, "I'm not on the faculty. I'm a student like you. In Australia the students don't have clubs like they do here, and I want to learn about them from you."

The teacher returned at this point, and rehearsal resumed. One lad approached, and stated that he was the master of ceremonies of the Pep Rally. "Would you really help me? I need some jokes." These were, as promised, delivered the next day.

During the weeks that followed, the researcher visited the school as frequently as he could, participating in an activity group each week, and attending evening events. His purpose was to let the students see him and ask him questions if they wished so that when he could be present most of the time the students would be used to his presence and rapidly accept him. This proved quite successful. Later in the year some students were surprised that the researcher knew their names; for he had become so much a part of the background that they had not realized the frequency with which he was among them.

At all times, answers to questions were given as simply and as truthfully as the comprehension of the enquirer would permit. The students appeared to take at face value the explanation offered for the researcher's presence: that he was interested in learning about their extracurriculum and senior class activities because in his homeland these types of activity are non-existent, or, if existent, are completely different from those of the American high school.

The first day that the researcher could spend entirely in the school proved to be the day on which school recessed for the Christmas holidays. Once school resumed after the vacation his visits were frequent. He seldom visited the school less frequently than twice a week. He often spent the greater part of each day at the school.

At this time the researcher found it necessary to modify his previous, tentative plan which had been to work with students in the junior high school. He opted, instead, to work with the senior class. The reason was simply that with sixteen hundred students it proved necessary to quickly get to know a particular group well if one was to observe anything more than a sea of faces. The senior class was the only one that met as a complete group for the homeroom period. As they met in the auditorium it proved possible to join them and become an unobtrusive observer. Furthermore, through his association with the other observer, he had come to know two or three of the student council officers. One of them asked the researcher whether he would like to go to the homeroom with her--an offer that was gratefully accepted. The decision to closely observe the senior class was fortuitous in that not only did several of its members engage in such classes as masonry where activity was spontaneous, but their involvement in planning their graduation exercises often revealed clues that may have remained hidden in other settings.

Although rapport between the observer and the students was good, there came an occasion on which it proved to be of little avail. As the year progressed, the researcher decided that he would use the questionnaires designed by Burnett and used in her study of Hamelville High School. Hamelville was as different from Carver as' one could hope to find: an all white, middle-class school located in a

small mid-western village with a high school population of
110. Hence the researcher believed that much could be
learned by comparing the values of the two groups, as
revealed by an identical questionnaire. He distributed the
first questionnaire and received back, finally, less than
forty (out of 160). To obtain even this many he had to
cajole, plead, give out additional copies to be done under
supervision, banter, and bully. At the same time, he
noticed that students who had formerly been glad to pass
the time of day, answer a leading question, and even offer
a piece of information were now disappearing into classrooms
and around corners as he approached. The questionnaire plan
did not die there, although perhaps it should have.

    With all thoughts of a major comparison study gone, the
researcher condensed the Burnett questionnaires considerably,
and, in time graciously made available by the vice-principal,
distributed them for immediate answers. About half were
returned unusable, as the respondents omitted to indicate
whether they were male or female. Despite careful wording
(which had been checked with a sample of the respondents)
several questions were answered in a way that was ambiguous.
While 'testing' was in progress male students, in particular,
were noted to be using devious means to eke out time without
answering. Hence, there are no questionnaire results
reported in this study. However, the use of school time did

clear the air, so to speak. The researcher had his
questionnaires (for what they were worth), and the students
could relax. Rapport returned.

Although formal interviews were conducted, the infor-
mation obtained from them is not included separately.
Instead this information, and that obtained in casual con-
versation has been blended with the observations made in
the interpretation of the latter.

Because of the overcrowded nature of the school, and
its lack of office space, at no stage during the year did
the researcher have available space which could be considered
'his.' He used either the tiny student council office or
the library as a place to sit and work if these were
available. If they were not, he sat in the auditorium.
Because of the uncertainty of where he could work at any
particular time, it was found impractical to use a tape
recorder when interviewing. If he could borrow a tape
recorder it was almost certain that either no space would
be available to set it up or that the subject would be un-
available. Hence it became simpler to interview respondents
when and where the time was opportune.

Recording the Data

During the period when the researcher was infrequent
an observer the record of his observations was somewhat
restricted. There were two reasons for this. The first was
that he lacked knowledge of the pupils names and year classes.

Nevertheless, he endeavoured to make a complete record of all activity by using such symbols as 'B_1,' 'B_2,' and 'G_1,' 'G_2' to refer to the behavior of specific students. The second factor which restricted his record was his inability to interpret the speech of the students because of his lack of familiarity with their pattern of speech and accent. In time, the first of these limitations was almost completely overcome, but the second continued to be a restricting factor in some situations, such as when background noise was high, or when the observer was at a distance from the speaker.

The six categories under which behavior was recorded by Guest were modified as follows:

1. Initiator (Teacher, Boy, Girl, Status [if known]).

2. To whom initiation was made, and the number of such persons.

3. Number in the audience and their status characteristics.

4. Topic or object of the interaction.

5. Form of behavior (speaking, manipulating, running, etc.).

6. Duration of the event.

7. Location of the event, and of the actors and audience.

8. Description of the location, including a map. (1960:234-235)

Later the same day, these observations were expanded
to form a diary of the event from which it was anticipated
that the organization that would best suit the data would
emerge when the analysis was undertaken. (Wolff 1960:241)

It should be mentioned that at several points during
the course of field research (especially when he first
entered the school, again when he first began full time
observations, and again after he could recognize the members
of the senior class) serious attempts were made to log
activity in an objective manner. Such attempts, however,
proved totally unseccessful. Although he had used the
technique on a previous occasion with about half-a-dozen
actors, it proved impractical under these circumstances,
where there were some one hundred and fifty actors who
were the focus of the activity, and some fifteen hundred
other students. It was found that the recording of incidents,
together with the use of a map to reveal the relative posi-
tions, was adequate for the types of events that were
observed.

Analysis of Data

Data were analyzed in two stages. During the first,
the field notes were merely read and a topic heading recorded
for every significant incident. If the nature of the event
was ambiguous in meaning, or if it clearly provided an in-
stance of two or more topics, it was recorded for all topics

that seemed relevant. No attempt was made to 'force' an incident within the rubric of an already existing topic if its nature, when considered in the context of the event, did not fully justify such a placing. As a result, some 78 topics were developed.

These topics were then arranged in five broad areas. The material was then re-read, and reference made to each category to ensure that all data pertinent to a topic had been included. These topics, and the encompassing areas, are shown in Appendix 3. At this stage two sets of key sort cards were punched. Each day was assigned a card with one number alloted to each topic. Similarly, each topic was assigned a card, with one number alloted to each day. In this way, if one was interested in, say, pupil behavior during extracurricular activities, one could quickly locate the days when such had been observed. By comparing the day cards one could quickly ascertain the context of the behavior and identify the resulting patterns. On the other hand, if one was struck, on any particular day, by the juxtaposition of two or more topics, it was simple to locate other days on which these topics had been noted and again seek the contextual similarities and dissimilarities. In the course of interpretation, the researcher systematically compared each topic with all others to ensure that he did not overlook any significant features.

CATEGORIES FOR KEY SORT CARDS

I. Students General

1. Specific place
2. Patterned interaction
3. Use of space
4. Public address system
5. Sex related behavior
6. Status related be-
   havior
7. Clique related be-
   havior
8. Punctuality
9. Theme(s) of inter-
   action
10. Student leaders
11. Student initiation
12. Faculty initiation
13. Student attitudes
14. Faculty attitudes
15. Evaluational be-
    havior
16. Incidents
17. Community values
18. Student procrasti-
    nation

II. Faculty and Administration

1. Specific place
2. Patterned interaction
3. Use of space
4. Public address system
5. Sex related behavior
6. Status related be-
   havior
7. School equipment
8. Punctuality
9. Theme(s) of inter-
   action
10. Faculty attitudes
11. Faculty inconsistency
12. Faculty procrasti-
    nation
13. Community values
14. School office
15. Evaluative behavior
16. Incidents
17. School organization

III. <u>Senior Class Activities</u>   IV. <u>Extracurricular Activities</u>

1. Specific place
2. Patterned interaction
3. Use of space
4. Public address system
5. Sex related behavior
6. Status related be-
    havior
7. Clique related be-
    havior
8. Punctuality
9. Theme(s) of inter-
    action
10. Officers partici-
    pating
11. Student initiation
12. Sponsor initiation
13. Student attitudes
14. Faculty attitudes
15. Evaluational be-
    havior
16. Incidents
17. Administrators
    themes

1. Specific organization
2. Patterned interaction
3. Use of space
4. Public address system
5. Sex related behavior
6. Status related be-
    havior
7. Clique related be-
    havior
8. Punctuality
9. Theme(s) of interaction
10. Officers participating
11. Student initiation
12. Sponsor initiation
13. Student attitudes
14. Faculty attitudes
15. Evaluational behavior
16. Incidents

V. Public Events

    1. Sponsor

    2. Type

    3. Purpose

    4. Admission fee

    5. Officiants

    6. Theme(s)

    7. Ritual, description of

    8. Ritual, when

    9. Other patterned interaction

  10. Punctuality

  11. Audience characteristics

  12. Audience size

  13. Audience punctuality

  14. Audience behavior and applause

  15. Arrival (audience, officiants, etc.)

  16. Departure

  17. Use of space

  18. Incidents

  19. Preparation for

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Colin John Balmer was born at Taree, in Australia on July 2, 1931. He matriculated from Lismore High School in 1947, and subsequently graduated from Armidale Teacher's College in 1949. He enrolled as a part-time student at the University of Tasmania in 1955.

After joining the Education Department of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea in 1957, he taught in the Gulf District for two years. In 1959 he was granted Leave of Absence in order to complete the requirements for his Bachelor of Arts degree at the pass level. He returned to Port Moresby in 1960 to serve as an educational research officer and school counsellor for the next four years. This period was interrupted by another period of Leave of Absence while he completed a year of post-graduate study in psychology. As a result, he graduated from the University of Tasmania in May 1962 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honors. In November 1963 he was appointed Principal Guidance Officer, charged with supervising school counselling throughout the Territory. He held this position until enrolling at the University of Florida in September 1966 to study toward the degree of Doctor of Education.

Colin John Balmer was awarded a Graduate Assistantship from September 1966 until June 1967, and from that date until the present he has been the recipient of a Graduate Fellowship from the University of Florida. He is a member of the Australian Psychological Society, and of the Australian College of Education.

He is married to the former Jocelyn May Lisson from Bagdad, Tasmania. They have two children: Jayne Maria, and Ian Gregory.

This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

December 1968

B Sharp by M C Bolles
Dean, College of Education

_____
Dean, Graduate School

Supervisory Committee:

Richard R. Renner
Chairman

Solon T. Kimball
Co-Chairman

Robert L. Curran

_____

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